# EFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE

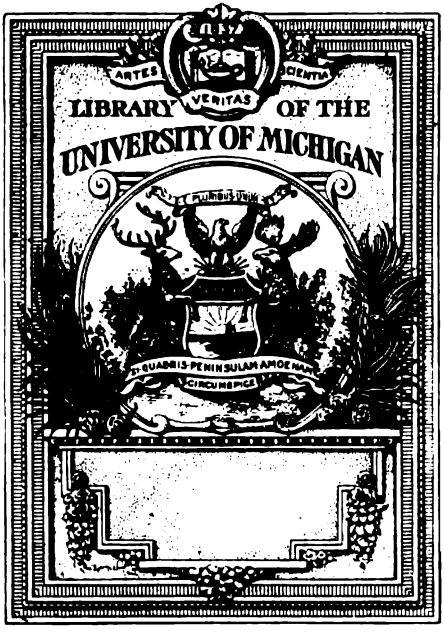
BY

ARNOLD WHITE

"LET ROME IN TVBER MELT! AND THE WIDE ARCH OF THE RANG'D EMPIRE FALL! HERE IS MY SPACE; KINGDOMS ARE CLAY."

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.
ACT I., SCENE I.

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON
1901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TO

REAR-ADMIRAL

THE LORD CHARLES DE LA POER BERESFORD

C.B., R.N.

# PREFACE

BRITAIN has received a warning to reorganise her Education, her system of Imperial Defence, and the Administration of her public affairs. At the beginning of the last century Germany received a lesson from Napoleon. She profited by experience, and in due time became a great Power, after reorganising her Education and reforming her Army. In the Sixties, France had two warnings. She neglected both. The Mexican War revealed the weak places in her military organisation, demonstrated the incapacity of her War Office officials, laid bare the defects of her military education, and exposed the administrative weakness of the Third Empire to unfriendly rivals. The opportunity for reorganising the French Army, which occurred between the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico in the early part of 1867, was neglected.

The second warning was contained in a series of forty-five reports written by Colonel Stoffel —a man who was a seer, a prophet, and a

patriot. He was the French military Attaché in Berlin from 1866 to 1870. These reports are of burning interest to Englishmen to-day. The warnings they contain are as applicable to Her Majesty's Government and to the British people as to the French nation in 1869.

The accepted creed of average Englishmen may be set forth as follows:—

"Britannia rules the waves." "We possess the command of the sea." "England is mistress of the seas."

"The British Army, though small, can do anything and go anywhere." "One Englishman can beat two foreigners."

"We are the most enlightened people on the face of the earth."

"The British Empire, on which the sun never sets, is the greatest the world has ever seen, and being free from militarism is safe against decay."

"Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform."

"The House of Commons is the bulwark of our liberties."

"Equality of opportunity exists for all British subjects."

"The law is no respecter of persons."

"The English judicial system is unequalled in the world."

"The English fiscal system is the best in the world."

"Corruption does not exist in our public service."

"Our system of finance is the strongest and best in the world."

"London is the financial centre of civilisation."

"Our men of business, when they take the trouble to excel, are without rival in the world."

Each of these propositions is disputable to-day —many of them are falsehoods.

In his warning to the French people, written in 1870, Colonel Stoffel set forth the falsehoods current among his countrymen:—

"The French people are the greatest people in the world."

"We are a great Empire."

"The French Army is the first army in the world. It has conquered all Europe."

"The French judicature is without an equal."

"The French finances are better administered than those of any other country."

"Our scientists, our poets, and our men of business are without rival in the world."

"The French people are the cleverest in the universe," etc. etc.

Finally, he spoke of the education of French youth, an education which cultivated self-esteem, to the exclusion of useful knowledge, while developing national defects and extinguishing the desire to learn and to do better.

Then came Sedan.

Speaking of the French Chamber, Colonel Stoffel says:—

"A majority formed almost entirely of mediocrities, of men without character, without ideals, and without any of the qualities that make an administrator; an opposition in which ambitious and conceited lawyers prevail, who make patriotism to consist of hateful recrimination or of malice, who hide their inefficiency and their impotence under flowery rhetoric, who simulate anxiety for the country's interests, and who, to gain a factitious popularity, wrangle with the Government over a single private soldier or a sou. They are skilled as tonguesters, but of small courage and feeble strength, more ready to speak than to fight."

Might not this be written of the House of Commons to-day?

Writing of France and her rivals, this French prophet said:—

"The French nation, in spite of the illustrious qualities which distinguish it, transgresses before all through ignorance and presumption."

And England?

"For Demos ignorant and puffed up is only too ready to believe those who flatter it."

"On one side this foresight of Prussia, united with the vigilance that results, and on the other the blindness and indifference of France, which prevent her recognition of the fact that war will inevitably occur and that all other matters ought to be subordinated to this chief question."

"The object of my apprehensions is precisely this contrast between the discernment of Prussia and the blindness of France."

"See how Prussia subordinates everything to this essential question of preparation for war and is ever ready to enter the lists with the imposing forces she has at her command."

Writing before the war threatened, and long before Lord Hammond said in the House of Lords in July 1870, that "the world had never been so profoundly at peace or the diplomatic atmosphere more serene," at the very moment before the bloodiest struggle of the century broke out, Colonel Stoffel wrote:—

"1. War is inevitable and at the mercy of circumstance.

"2. Prussia has no intention of attacking France; she desires not war, and she will do all that is possible to avoid it.

"3. But Prussia has sufficient discernment to recognise that war, which she does not desire, will certainly break out, and she exerts every faculty in order not to be taken unawares on the day when the fatal event transpires.

"4. France by indifference, by levity, and especially by ignorance of the situation, has not the same foresight as Prussia."

Of the coming war he said:—

"If the war is of short duration, and if France is struck by an initial blow, and if she finds herself suddenly invaded, how will you then find means quickly to give to the assembled young men the unity, the discipline, and the instruction necessary?"

And he added:—

"If Prussia consented to change completely her vital institutions, the result would be that she could not disarm, that it would be impossible, even if she should have the desire, and that a Government, whatever it might be, which had thoughts of proposing disarmament to the Prussian Government would display most blameworthy ignorance of the military organisation and the fundamental institutions of Prussia."

"But it cannot be repeated too often that it is the principle of compulsory military service, as much as that of compulsory education, which, exercised with perseverance since 1815, has brought Prussia, by slow and imperceptible degrees through sixty years, to this intellectual and moral development, which by making the nation the most enlightened and the most disciplined in Europe, has placed her at a single stroke in the highest place among the Powers."

There is scarcely a word in Colonel Stoffel's warnings to the French Government which may not be read with profit by Englishmen to-day. We too have had our Mexican Expedition. In South Africa we have a lesson. Shall we profit by it sufficiently to reconsider our ways? The leeway of two generations of neglect requires to be made up. May we not also ask—"Quand cesserons-nous de nous payer de mensonges et de paroles pompeuses?"

I have long been engaged in studying the inseparable connection between Empire and Efficiency. In 1900 I wrote a series of articles on this subject in the *Sunday Sun*. The style, however, which is suitable for a newspaper is wholly unsuitable for a book, and with the exception of a few pages which I have reproduced from various publications, the whole of the matter in this book is either new or has been rewritten several times over.

I have to thank the proprietors of *Harper's Magazine* for permission to reproduce a portion of an article on the Colonial Office, which I have embodied in this book. I have further to acknowledge the permission of Mr. L. J. Maxse, the Editor of the *National Review*, to reproduce a portion of an article on the physical unfitness of

our people, which is embodied in Chapter VIII. Furthermore, I have written in various magazines and newspapers on the subject of our public Services; also in the *Daily Chronicle* on Smart Society, and for the *Westminster Gazette* a short article on the Foreign Office.

I have to express my warm gratitude to many public men for assistance and advice in preparing this volume. Publication of their names in this book, however, much as it might surprise and interest my readers, would not advance, and might even injure the careers of some of them. In the days of the Venetian Republic the Oligarchy suffered popular and administrative discontent to find vent through the "Lion's Mouth." No such remedy is available to-day, and those servants of the State and captains of industry who best know the facts are compelled to silence, or forced to entrust another with the presentation of the case for Reform.

To Mr. J. H. Yoxall, M.P., I return my hearty thanks for his Memorandum on the position of Primary Education in England and Wales, printed on p. 298.

ARNOLD WHITE.

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# EFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE

## CHAPTER I

### THE PRINCIPLES OF BUSINESS

PRINCIPLES of good administration are not to be laid down in stereotyped rules. If a man placed in a position of responsibility has a talent for organisation and administration he will be a law to himself. If he is not qualified for administration no rules will keep him straight. There are, however, five elementary maxims for efficient administration common to all large undertakings. Neglect of any or all of them involves confusion and possible ruin.

1. Every man in the public service should be chosen with sole reference to his capacity for the duties he is required to perform. There should be no round pegs in square holes, and nepotism should be excluded as completely from

the national service as from private enterprises dependent on capacity for the realisation of profit in a commercial enterprise, or the getting of runs in a cricket eleven.

2. Care should be taken that every man entrusted with a responsible duty is thoroughly trained for its performance, and is proved to be competent before he takes up the responsibilities of the office. Our examination system certifies only to one small portion of the candidate's fitness for employment, and therefore chiefly acts as a barrier to the potentially efficient.

3. Every man should be fairly remunerated for his labour, and should be, as far as the State can make him, a cheerful and contented servant. A discontented man makes a bad servant of the State, for his mind is fixed on grievances when it should be concentrated on the nation's business. Social idlers overpaid with money or privilege form a standing grievance with officials not in society. The hope and possibility of rising to the top should inspire every servant of the State. We prevent anyone from hoping to rise unless they enter through the strait gate of Chinese examinations.

4. Every State servant should have his duties thoroughly defined, and should know exactly what is required of him. A definite chain of

responsibility is necessary from top to bottom. What is everyone's business is no one's business, and the extent to which responsibility evaporates in the confusion into which the public service has been allowed to sink is the price paid for allowing the business of the nation to be done on principles that are not business-like.

5. There should, at all times, be active and vigilant supervision in every branch of the various services from top to bottom. In national affairs it is not enough that every State servant should be fit for his duties and trained for their performance, but it must be the duty of someone to see that he actually does perform them, whether he is a postman or a Minister, and that no slackness or carelessness, in any rank, be allowed to supervene in carrying out the working from day to day. Imagine, for example, what would be the public consternation resulting from an effective inspection, by impartial and competent authorities, from week to week, of the Foreign and War Offices. If they are citadels of misrule, delay, incapacity, and the negation of every principle of business methods, it is because their sins are secret, and they are never subjected to the ordeal of competent inspection.

No matter how honest and willing Ministers may be, they are, except in the rarest instances,

completely at the mercy of their subordinates. The average Minister is quickly entangled in the jungle of detail, while the general principles that govern successful administration are neglected in order that he may devote his time to answering Parliamentary questions, or advancing the interests of his party by the preparation of unnecessary speeches. Administration in its true sense is not performed by the people who are paid to administer.

The neglect of the five axiomatic rules set forth above is shown in the steady deterioration of character which seems to affect politicians who become Ministers. A man who in private life conducts himself as an honourable gentleman and a man of affairs is compelled to become the mouthpiece of falsehoods designed to deceive the nation, baffle the House of Commons, shield the Department, and burke inquiry. Cabinet responsibility, which means no responsibility for anyone, prevents the impeachment of incapable Ministers. The bureaucracy are equally irresponsible. In 1806—the dark age of an unreformed Parliament—a Minister was impeached for dishonesty. The Queen's yacht nearly turned turtle in 1900. Nothing was done, except that the First Lord came down to the House to praise the designer. It is notorious that official state-

ments are often suggestions of what is false, suppressions of what is true, or both; while official returns are not seldom palpable frauds. Take the case of the Army Reservist (now to be abolished), who is at the same time a Militiaman, and also enlisted as a "special servist." One man figures as three, to delude the public. The annual speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty, in proposing bogus Navy Estimates, is a public scandal, for the public is invited to believe what is not true.

If a Commission were appointed to examine the business methods of the Foreign Office, evidence abounds showing where a falsehood has been placed in the mouth of the Minister by subordinates who either knew that it was a falsehood, and should therefore be dismissed for fraud, or did not know that it was a falsehood, in which case they should be cashiered for incapacity. Their pensions are secure. No impeachment was even thought of in 1900, although democracy believed itself triumphant. Not long since a signalman was indicted for an act of carelessness that produced a collision, involving loss of life. He was sentenced to three years without hard labour. Protected by convention, negligent and incompetent servants of the State, if in a certain caste, are immune from punishment

for worse misdeeds than the signalman's. If there is less public spirit in Parliament to-day than in 1806, the middle and working classes, who know what is wanted, have the remedy in their own hands.

The five principles that underly the transaction of affairs can no longer be ignored, if efficiency is to resume its place in the public departments.

## CHAPTER II

## THE DETERIORATION OF OUR RULERS

### I

WHEN Pitt faced Napoleon, and our grandfathers were building the Empire, efficiency in the public service was rated more highly by the statesmen who ruled them than by the politicians who rule us. Punishment was inflicted on public servants whose misconduct or incapacity deserved it. In 1757, when Byng was shot on his own quarterdeck in Portsmouth Harbour, the incident became a standing advertisement to captains in the Royal Navy, that the right place for British battleships was alongside the enemy. When Calder, in 1805, with an inferior fleet, brought a superior force of the enemy to action, who had the advantage of wind and station, and nevertheless obtained a victory over them, capturing some of their ships, he was tried by court-martial in Portsmouth Harbour on December 22, 1805. Upon a full examination of the circumstances which took

place after the action of July 22, the Court decided that the Admiral had not done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage, and, while acquitting him of any imputation of fear or cowardice, sentenced him to be severely reprimanded. He was ruined. The utmost sympathy was excited by the fate of Sir Robert Calder. He had meritoriously served his country for more than forty years, but the Administration of the day reflected the set purpose of the country in refusing to exonerate an admiral who had fallen short of the high standard of naval efficiency that ruled in those days. It had been fixed once for all on the execution of Admiral Byng. This was at a time when the echo of the guns of Trafalgar had scarcely died away. Calder would have been spared if he had had the luck to live later in the century.

In the succeeding year, Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, was impeached, after a report from the Select Committee to whom "the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was referred to inquire into the application of any moneys issued to the Treasurer of the Navy and to investigate the conduct of Lord Melville in reference thereto." Mr. Whitbread, the member for Bedford, addressed the House of Commons on the subject of Lord Melville's misconduct in a tone

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This sentence was confirmed by the King, who gave orders that it should be read at the head of every regiment in his service and inserted in all regimental orderly-books, "with a view of its becoming a lasting memorial of the fatal consequences to which officers expose themselves who in discharge of the important duties confided to them are *deficient in that zeal, judgment, and personal exertion which their Sovereign and their country have a right to expect* from officers entrusted with high commands." The interesting point about General Whitelocke's trial was that the malign influence of bad smart society was appreciated in those days by the commonalty, and although both the licence and the power of the Press were incomparably less in 1806 than in the year 1901, it is publicly recorded that towards the end of the trial public curiosity was "less excited to know its issue than the interest or means by which General Whitelocke had obtained his important appointment." Judging by the attitude of our rulers to-day towards incompetent generals in South Africa, they would infallibly have spared Whitelocke as they would have spared Calder, if they had been called on to deal with his case.

Although our grandfathers were thus willing in three consecutive years to punish inefficient officers, their Governments were no readier than our own

to admit their own incapacity or to assent to investigation into the causes of their own failures to organise and achieve success in military or naval operations. When Hoche raided Ireland in 1796 neither of the two British fleets in commission in home waters succeeded in capturing a single French ship. For three weeks in the Irish and the English Channels French squadrons were unmolested by a British admiral. Then, as now, the system was blamed. When invited to hold an inquiry, Ministers strongly maintained through the mouth of Lord Spencer, then First Lord of the Admiralty, that "all had been done that could be expected and that an inquiry would be considered as tantamount to unmerited censure." Lord Lansdowne's negative reply on July 16, 1900, to the Duke of Bedford's demand for inquiry into the deficiencies of our military system shows that if times are altered, there is a continuity of tradition in official life. In the calm and comfort of a long peace, perception of the paramount claims of efficiency has evaporated from the minds of our rulers. To go wrong by rule is now esteemed a higher virtue in administration than to achieve success by irregular means, a fact illustrated by the following incident. Some time ago certain buildings at Dover Castle were burnt down. The General in command was Major-General William

Butler, K.C.B. When under examination by a War Office Committee, the General said: "The certificate and report system is in its nature misleading. On the occasion of the recent fire at the officers' quarters, Dover Castle, the reports and certificates dealing with the prevention of the fire were of the most satisfactory nature. Everybody had done his duty. The place was burnt strictly according to regulation."

II

Without citing further instances of the methods adopted by our ancestors in order to secure efficiency in the public service, we have seen that, however reluctant our rulers have been in the past to admit that they themselves were to blame, they were ready to punish other people when they fell short of the standard required by an expanding nation. The reluctance of Governments to admit inquiry is easily explicable. Any Administration is moribund which consents to independent investigation into its conduct; for if the inquiry is thorough, the inevitable revelations of waste, incapacity, and even fraud, which are due to the inheritance of a fly-blown administrative system, would effectually undermine the faith of the electorate in any Cabinet, however innocent

its individual members may be. Lord Melville's impeachment, though ending in acquittal, indirectly led to the fall of the Government of which he was a member.

Less than half a century ago the public demanded a drastic inquiry into the causes of failure in the Crimea, where the loss of life and the expenditure of money was less than has been caused by the war in South Africa. The consequence was that one Minister resigned, and thereupon the Ministry itself fell into pieces in consequence of the infuriated feeling engendered by the Crimean revelations. Nowadays nobody resigns. Incapacity is Khismet. People in earnest are ill-bred. Form is everything. The working classes are preoccupied with backing horses they never set eyes on and watching games they do not play; the middle class has lost its pride of caste and is busy aping its social superiors. If crowds of administrators, some of them able and industrious individuals, are immeshed in a system productive of perennial muddle, our bureaucracy and our cultured classes seem to regard it as the Children of Israel looked upon Mount Sinai —something too sacred to be touched. The notion that the officials exist for the nation and not the nation for the officials has become obsolete. Nevertheless, it is demonstrable that

either efficiency must be restored to the British administrative system at all costs—even at the sacrifice of Party or of enlarging the area of choice from which our rulers and administrators are obtained—or the decline of the British Empire will date from the first decade of the twentieth century.

Bureaucrats and official people stand to the country much in the same relation as domestic animals to a farmer. Cows and horses live only for the farmers' benefit. All domestic animals are forced to exhibit physical adaptations to the farmers' use or fancy rather than to their own good. The key to this moulding of fitness, whether in officials, cows, or pouter pigeons, is man's power of selection. We disobey the unbending law of evolution in the choice of our rulers and higher officials because we do not exert an adequate power of selection, and consequently have not accumulated a useful breed of either. Instead of adjusting our practice of obedience to the laws of natural selection, we have inverted them in dealing with our civil and military service. There is little or no struggle for existence in the higher ranks of State servants. They hold office on a freehold tenure. The inefficient members are not ruthlessly destroyed. The bulk of those who are potentially efficient

are artificially excluded by the caste system. In diplomacy, for instance, the Brahmins of the service do a fraction of the work; the rest is left to the Pariah Consulate tribe. The system of freehold tenure and universal pensions for the privileged ensures a fertile crop of formalism and pedantry, and therefore bureaucratic unfitness of a specially noxious description, for it is compatible with much ability in the individual, although the ability is not of the quality that is useful to the State. The principle of selection, so potent in our hands when plants and animals are concerned, is thus ignored in the choice of our bureaucracy. The same defect is to be remarked in the appointment of our rulers. We make little effort to preserve our favourable specimens or to ensure the survival of the fittest by destroying the injurious ones, because the system upon which they are selected has no relation whatever to administrative capacity, to imaginative and healthy foresight, or to the introduction of great men to the service of a great nation. We choose the majority of our rulers, not because they are organisers, administrators, or men of affairs, but either because they can talk or because they are related to propertied politicians who formerly talked copiously. The influence of the greatest talker of the century, who played on the morals of his humbler

fellow-subjects as Paganini played upon the fiddle, disappeared within twenty-four months of his death. It had lasted for sixty years. Although the sudden obliteration of Mr. Gladstone's influence in public affairs is pregnant with meaning at a time when we are paying the bill of costs for Majuba, the lesson has escaped both the electors and the elected. That the artist in words still holds the field as against the man who knows and who can think and do, we have only to look at Parliament and the Cabinet.

III

The rule of rhetoricians and the exclusion of the business element from our national Councils might continue for another generation or two but for the fact that rival nations, who were impotent for sixty years after Waterloo, have recovered naval and military strength and renewed their traditional antipathy towards England. The wars of the past were either religious or dynastic. War in the future will be waged for food and clothing. England, having destroyed her own agriculture, is dependent on the agriculture of her rivals for food, and for clothing on the raw materials produced by pro-Boers. In order to be safe in this parasitic phase of Imperialism, we must either inspire half

Europe with friendship or establish the respect that accompanies fear. We do neither. Almost universally disliked—and we are most thoroughly detested where we are most intimately known—we have recently undergone the novel experience of being generally despised. What should have been an affair of police, to be taken in the stride of Empire, has been expanded by the incompetence of our rulers to the dimensions of a great war. We have lost as many men by death and disease as our enemy was able to place in the field, while the whole strength of the Empire has been mobilised to destroy two peasant communities. The war might easily have been prevented in three ways: firstly, by introducing ten thousand British settlers and their families immediately after the need for the Bechuana Expedition in 1885 demonstrated the bad faith of the Boers and their resolve to ignore the Convention of 1884; secondly, by refusing to permit arms and munitions to enter the Republics either through Portuguese or British territory; and thirdly, by sending twenty thousand mounted men to the Cape immediately after the Jameson Raid, and insisting there and then on the conditions of the Conventions being carried out. I do not write as one who is wise after the event.

The South African War has done more than

merely reveal the quality of the statesmanship that dreads the Opposition more than posterity, loves quiet more than country, and prefers peace to patriotism. It uncovered in fierce light the cankers of a long peace. Patriotism in the House of Commons is in alliance with wealth. A Parliamentary delegation of patriotism, privilege, and plutocracy, from which poor gentlemen, working men, and Nonconformists are practically excluded, does not form a true representation of national life. The miniature is distorted because the patriots in our National Assembly are rich; the poorer members, especially the Irish and the pro-Boers, are more or less disaffected to the Empire. The old directing ability of the governing families of England is invisible. That which succeeded it is in a state of decay. In diplomacy, for example, for many years past Britain has been consistently worsted in her dealings with other Powers. In the Foreign Office, responsible for negotiations with China, Siam, and Russia, no Asiatic Department exists. The officials specially told off to deal with China are responsible for Haiti, and are equally ignorant of both. The consequences of H.M.S. *Iphigenia* steaming out of Port Arthur at the bidding of Russia were appreciated by the man in the street long before it dawned upon Downing Street that an epoch had come and

gone. In the Waima affair, where twenty-six British officers and men were shot down by French magazine rifles in the hands of French troops, the Foreign Office not only abstained from action and neglected to acquaint our Ambassador in Paris with the facts, but obstinately jibbed, set its ears back and stiffened its forelegs, prevaricated when questioned, and displayed irritation and resentment when urged by public opinion in 1900 to do what it ought to have done in 1894.

The cumulative evidence of the incompetence of our Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service is best seen in the attitude of the civilised world towards us. It may be that our insularities and the displayed wealth of the naturalised English have gained us the dislike of other nations; but the hatred of foreigners is largely based on misapprehension. Nothing would have been easier during the war than to establish a press bureau on the Continent and in the United States, and to present at the bar of civilised opinion the case for England. Nothing was done. Dr. Leyds has had a free field. Mr. Bryce and Mr. Stead are the voices by which Britain has been heard and judged across the Atlantic. Precedent was against the use of intellectual weapons against the enemy, and if precedent had been on the other side, the intellect of the Foreign Office, when matched against the

brains of Dr. Leyds and Mr. Stead, would have been subjected to intolerable strain. To send muzzle-loading guns into action against modern weapons is a form of inhumanity repugnant to men of feeling. Candidates for the Diplomatic and Foreign Office Service, if they wish to succeed, must be well off, coached by Mr. Scoones, and possess the favour of a few individuals. They need not necessarily be well-bred, intelligent, or efficient. Whenever a really important bit of diplomatic work requires to be done, outsiders are called in to do it. Sir. W. White, Lord Cromer, Lord Pauncefote are recent examples. Social forces are antagonistic to the public welfare. Efficiency in all the departments is now a secondary consideration to the claims of privilege.

In the War Office the self-esteem of incompetent "experts" is reinforced by senile repugnance to changes that are required to ensure safety. Mendacious statements are made officially to lull the public into the belief that hostile criticism is interested or corrupt. Club veterans, whose proper place is a bath chair at Bournemouth, are entrusted with Departments (such as the Ordnance) on which the fate of the Empire may depend.

At the Treasury the ablest young men in the national service have contrived to collect all power of initiative, and to establish a chilling predominance

which kills originality, saps energy, and discourages departmental zeal and ingenuity in the public service. Nevertheless, the public finances are not protected. In what country but England could a Finance Minister have sold an estate to the nation for double its market value without being convicted of jobbery? There was a moment in the complicated transactions which attended the transfer of Sir Michael Hicks Beach's Netheravon estate to the nation when he, as trustee for the taxpayers, had either to give or withhold his assent. His fiduciary status was inalienable: all that he could delegate was the determination of the price. When the price was settled, his responsibility to the public revived, and his assent on behalf of the nation to the acquisition of his own property was a transaction upon which history may have something to say, for it marks the introduction to public life of a coarseness of fibre and insensibility to the niceties of duty from which Pitt was free.

In the Post Office Department inefficiency and muddle grow from year to year. The man who has thought out postal reform is ignored, while the political head is making party speeches in the provinces, and his lieutenant in the House of Commons is the mere phonograph of the official who rules on behalf of the Treasury. When the chiefs are thus ignorant, absent-minded, or irre-

sponsible, what wonder that the heads of Department are thinking of something more interesting than their postal duties. A complaint of my own addressed to Lord Londonderry was answered on his Lordship's behalf by a Post Office official, whose appointment was publicly announced as the dramatic critic of the *Times*. Fancy Pickford, the P. & O., or a great Railway Company permitting their responsible servants to play with work, and work at the play!

England is in a fool's paradise about her fleet. Her fleets are not on a war footing. Ships ordered are not built. Engineers are snubbed and cold-shouldered. The Admiralty Board is under the thumb of the politician who is First Lord. Naval education is defective. Submarine boats are unknown. We have wilfully lost the command of the sea, and yet go on talking as if we retained it. When the *Iphigenia* steamed out of Port Arthur, Lord Salisbury acted wisely, if after all he recognised facts — and knew that British naval power is what Admiral Rawson, on May 11, 1900, said it was—not strong enough "to meet any great emergency."

It is convenient and seemly that the few should govern the many; that the rich and not the poor should as a rule be entrusted with political power. Those arrangements are of the nature of things.

The price of Empire, however, is efficiency. If the privileged classes are efficient, well and good. If not, efficiency is still indispensable, although the privileges of the privileged must be shorn. England's great reform is to open a way to talent. The gentlefolk will always win in a crowd whenever they take the trouble — for aristocracy is nothing more than the most efficient people in the nation, whose efficiency has been graded up by generations of training. This is the reason why the populace prefer the leadership of the well-born to that of their own class. Homage to efficiency is the secret of the respect paid by Anglo-Saxons to aristocracy. Government by aristocracy implies government by the efficient. When efficiency goes out at the door, it is inevitable that Empire will fly out at the window.

# CHAPTER III

## THE CASE FOR EFFICIENCY

THE British administrative system is like that of a prosperous man in advanced middle age who eats and drinks to repletion, takes no exercise, and is content to enjoy life while he may. We have had a start of eighty years in the international race for prosperity. The temperate places of the earth have been peopled or acquired by us. Notwithstanding the loss of both North and South America, owing to the inefficiency in the one case of our rulers, in the other of a General, most of the land worth having on this planet that was not occupied at the beginning of last century is British. Material wealth has poured into the country notwithstanding our geographical disabilities, our melancholy climate, and the temptations we present to better armed and educated nations to strike a blow at our heart. For over two hundred years, war in which Britain was engaged has been kept at a distance. Since the fall of Napoleon,

and during the reign of machinery, the cult of unfitness under the shibboleth of free trade, and the multiplication of population without regard to the health of the people, the public has watched the decadence of our administrative system, under the influences of Party, Society, and a false view of education.

Whether we examine the constituent elements of the Cabinets to which power has been entrusted during the past century, or whether we survey in detail the Departments entrusted with the actual work of carrying on the business of the country, the result is the same. Notwithstanding virtue and ability of a kind, the practical directing ability of the kingdom has deteriorated and is still steadily declining. Nevertheless, the nation is essentially sound at heart, and neither incapacity in high places nor the inefficiency and self-esteem of the bureaucracy are irremediable. Most of our public evils are remediable with little trouble, provided the public awakes to the fact that a remedy is wanted. Our rulers are not so much corrupt as slack; not vicious, but listless; not criminous, but pleasure-loving. Wanting in business capacity and common sense, they have cleverly devised a plan for shirking responsibility. Taxpayers are beginning to discover that they do not get value for their money, and that they are

governed with less success but at a greater cost than are other nations which have enjoyed few of the advantages peculiar to Great Britain. For many years scarcely a day has passed without evidence of this listless indifference to the interests of the public on the part of one section of the Administration. Both political parties are alike. The principal reason for administrative slackness, from top to bottom, is that efficiency has ceased to be the chief qualification either for appointment to the public service or for election to Parliament and ministerial office. Selection for the bureaucracy is determined in the higher ranks by a peculiar examination in bookishness. To become a Mandarin requires capital. In certain Departments examination tempered with selection is the process adopted. In election for Parliament or for ministerial office, wealth, connection, and social influence, tinctured with oratorical ability, are the supreme considerations that govern the choice of caucuses in selecting candidates, and of the Prime Minister in choosing colleagues. Efficiency is a subordinate qualification. In no case is it the dominant consideration.

When English voters became Imperialist they pledged themselves unwittingly, either to institute efficiency in the public service, or to renounce their Imperialism more rapidly than they took it

up. No true Imperialism is possible in this country that is not backed by a public service in a condition of high efficiency. The Imperialism of which Cromwell was a master, and Pitt the highest exponent of last century, is an exacting mistress. The essence of Imperialism that endures is strength; not only military strength, but intellectual and moral force and a keen sense of national and civic duty among the people. Vigour, imagination, and executive elasticity of purpose in both the civil and military administrations are essential to modern as to ancient Empires. The great test of Imperialism is the organisation of success in colonisation and war. The people of Britain have mostly done their colonisation for themselves, generally without help from Government. War is necessarily placed in the hands of Government. Under modern conditions some five years of efficient preparation are required to organise success. Efficient preparation is dependent on things which are only at the disposal of Government. Unless common sense and foresight are brought to bear upon Imperial policy, and Imperial designs are adjusted to the Imperial capacity to execute them, energy evaporates, taxes are wasted. Nothing can be improvised in modern days if it is to last, either in war or peace; but the very qualities which have

made us good colonisers, namely, Anglo-Saxon passion for individualism, patience under adverse circumstances, inherent love of law and order, and continuity of purpose, have contributed to the loss of efficiency in our public service. We part with executive power because it is not our business. We elect or suffer men to rule who are not business men. Our ruling classes despise business methods. They are to be judged, not by their words, but by their deeds. We have witnessed in the past invariable muddle and extravagant cost in every national enterprise, whether it be the construction of a railway or the prosecution of a war. The only cheap war was Mr. Rhodes' conquest of Lobengula. The reason for this invariable system of muddle is plain. Our Ministers, for the most part, are amateurs, whose real trade is that of political professional rhetoric. They are, as a rule, without either leisure or inclination for thinking ahead. The best of them are apt to become tired pessimists or pococurante philosophers, with a conviction that the machine will last their time. The worst of them are men of pleasure. Good, bad, or indifferent, they deal with events as events turn up. Drift is their policy. When the policy of drift tends to collision, epigram is their justification. Nothing is foreseen, nothing anticipated. The

Prime Minister, the Minister of War, and the Commander-in-Chief, or the men who have occupied the highest place and are wholly responsible, habitually address their countrymen with a detachment of mind in which no sense of personal responsibility is to be discerned. They speak, not as the living voices of an Imperial people, but as critics of bad work in which they have no direct concern. When they are rich and of high station this air of *insouciance* seems to be rather agreeable to the public than otherwise. It is called "high breeding." Game is said to be "high" when approaching a state of decay.

Whatever changes are made, however, it is not only inevitable but desirable that real power shall rest in the hands of a few. These few will always remain the privileged. The only price that the privileged few are required to pay to the main body of the people is that they shall be efficient. The price of privilege is efficiency. In Great Britain the privileges of the privileged have long been unchallenged. Even in times of stress the privileged class in this country have been safe from molestation by the masses. One set of privileged people displaced another. That is all. No certificate of efficiency has ever yet been demanded from his rulers by Demos. When, however, incompetence becomes chronic, through

prolonged enjoyment of luxurious ease and the foreigner is famishing for our wealth, it is inevitable that sooner or later the privileged class will be swept away by an exasperated people. The only question is, whether the inevitable exasperation of the people will not repeat history and come too late for effective action.

Dismay at the inefficiency and discontent with the incapacity of the executive Government is now expressed on all sides. There is a feeling in the air that our rulers are no longer of the calibre required to meet the dangers ahead. Evidences of the cankers of a long peace abounded before the Boer War. Nothing has happened during the struggle in South Africa that was not already foreseen by those who had taken the trouble to examine the state of our public Departments. These evidences of degeneracy in our Administration were apparent to foreigners (especially to Germans) and to our kinsmen beyond sea. The inhabitants of the great self-governing colonies have long been accustomed to look to London for leadership and guidance in matters relating to Imperial policy and administration. Colonial statesmen, however, have received a severe shock by the revelations of the Boer War. Slackness in departmental administration and strategical and tactical folly have been noted by our Colonial

critics, and many of them regard the degeneracy of the directing ability responsible for the British Empire as tantamount to abdication of power. Executive incapacity is now the talk of the market-place.

The man in the street, sensible that much is wrong in the administrative machine, and knowing that the cost of the war in lives and treasure is far greater than it would have been if the Empire had been run by business men and on business principles, is in despair as to how to bring about adequate changes. He does not want to turn out a Government whose principles are his own. He does not desire to place Home Rulers, who are equally incompetent, in office. He perceives that the only alternative to revolution is initiative by Government—that is, by the Prime Minister; and as things are not bad enough for insurrection he looks to the Head of the Government—and looks in vain. Great changes are needed, and the longer is the delay in making them, the greater is the probability of a sudden shift of the political centre of gravity.

While the people are only discontented, moderate measures of reform in public administration are certain to be more effectual for good, and to do less harm, than violent change brought about only after the people are stung to madness.

National humiliation and a sea of individual suffering, due to the listlessness rather than to the corruption of our rulers, have already been experienced. Unless the listless are replaced by the alert, the humiliation and suffering of December 1899 will be renewed. To-day, even if iridescent Society is indifferent, business men are in a serious mood. They are inclined to take heed unto their paths, and to lay to heart the national lessons the Boers have taught us. In the long-run the nation depends on its business men. They manage the affairs of smart people and the labouring classes alike. If we await fresh disasters, before changing our methods and making our rulers responsible for their acts, the changes necessary to accomplish our purpose may not be in safe hands. At such times the business man is silenced: the fanatic is abroad, and his mouthings are hearkened to by the people. In times of tumult and distress the affairs of nations tend to fall into the hands of extremists. Men who are busy and emotional rather than capable and solid grasp the reins. The standing corn of the Philistines was not better fitted for the foxes and the firebrands than the fly-blown public service of Britain for the schemer, the anarchist, the visionary, and the fool.

## CHAPTER IV

## IS THE CONSTITUTION TO BLAME?

"I DO not think," said Lord Salisbury (January 30, 1900), "that the British Constitution as at present worked is a good fighting machine." The Prime Minister might have added that it is not a good Post Office machine, or a good naval machine, or a good machine for negotiation with foreign countries, or a good machine for controlling the education, taxation, revenue, and expenditure of the British nation. In almost every Department of national administration, revelation of failure and evidence of inefficiency are visible to the business man and the ordinary taxpayer. Before, however, accepting with fatalistic resignation the defects of the British Constitution as inherent, let us agree on its fundamental principles, and then see whether it is true; and, if so, to what extent our Constitution is to blame for the miscarriage of our wars, the delay in the delivery of our letters, and the contrast between the progress

of our rivals and our own stagnation and inefficiency.

The two fundamental principles of the Constitution which bear on the question of Imperial efficiency are :—

First—That no taxation can be levied except with the direct sanction of the people, expressed through their elected representatives assembled in the Commons House of Parliament.

Second—That the Sovereign can govern only through the advice of Ministers who command the support of a majority of elected Members of Parliament.

The constitutional process gone through, in order to apply these fundamental principles to Departmental administration, is too well known to require elaborate explanation. The Sovereign chooses and sends for a politician who can rely on a following in Parliament sufficient to form an Administration. If the person thus consulted by the Sovereign fails to form a Ministry which will command sufficient votes in Parliament to obtain necessary supplies for carrying on the work of Government, successive statesmen are sent for until one is found who possesses the confidence of the majority of the Members of the House of Commons. When the politician thus chosen by the Monarch has accepted the duty of forming a

Ministry, he nominates his colleagues in the Government, whose names are submitted to the approval of the Sovereign.

Although the British Constitution is silent on the subject, it is a fact that members of a Ministry, other than the Premier, hold office subject to the pleasure of the Head of the Ministry: if, however, he is defeated in the Lower House, they leave office with him. All Cabinet Ministers, other than the Premier, may resign without destroying the Ministry, but when the First Minister ceases to retain the confidence of Parliament, he and his colleagues make way for a Ministry able to obtain funds to carry on the Government.

Nothing contained in the two fundamental principles just set forth, and nothing belonging to the process by which those principles are translated into constitutional practice, destroys the responsibility of the Prime Minister for each of his colleagues, or annuls their responsibility for their own Departmental action. As a matter of Party convenience, however, a novel and wholly indefensible doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility for Departmental failure has come into being. From the Ministerial point of view collective responsibility is convenient, because each Minister, however foolish or incapable, is thereby shielded from the natural consequences of his own folly or incapacity. Influential but

incapable Ministers can thus be brought into a Cabinet protected by the theory of collective responsibility (which is no responsibility) who would be necessarily excluded if efficiency in the public service were secured by each Minister being held individually accountable for the successful administration of the Department entrusted to him. Collective Cabinet responsibility is a device by which Party politicians prolong their own tenure of office and their adversaries' exclusion by stifling inquiry and burking complaints, and thus evading punishment for all misdeeds which do not warrant the fall of a whole Cabinet. This plan damps efficiency as water quenches fire, and is therefore hostile to the interests of every man, woman, and child in the Empire. The plea of individual irresponsibility is nothing more than a trick of Cabinet trade unionism. It is as antagonistic to national interests as the doctrine of compulsory limitation of industrial output is hostile to the interests of both capital and labour. In a word, the interests of the Ministers sheltered by it are opposed to the interests of the nation which pays them.

There is, however, another point in Lord Salisbury's lament as to the defective qualities of the Constitution which is worthy of consideration. Hitherto it has been the practice of Prime

Ministers to exercise control over all the Departments of State. Sir Robert Peel devoted nearly the whole of his time to this function. The consequence was, in Sir Robert Peel's time, that the Departments were kept up to the mark. In more recent times the First Minister has been too busy to interfere with the Departments or to exercise control over the Cabinet of which he is the Head. Owing to the agreeable, convenient, political doctrine of Cabinet irresponsibility, letters may be lost or delayed with impunity. It is futile to complain. Or 26,000 lives and careers, with £100,000,000 sterling, may be squandered in South Africa, because a Minister had not the ability or the foresight to stop the import of arms into the Transvaal, or the courage to organise a fighting machine of our own which would have prevented the bloody and irritating humiliations to which the nation has been subjected since October 1899. The only remedy is the restoration of individual Ministerial responsibility and periodic inspection by the Prime Minister, to see that the work is really done. Lord Salisbury's resumption of the Premiership is a concession to public opinion.

J. L. Delolme, a Swiss jurist who wrote on the British Constitution a hundred years ago, in the course of an intelligent survey of our institutions, declared that Party spirit in England "does not

produce those lasting and rancorous divisions in the community which have pestered so many other free States: making of the same nation, as it were, two distinct people in a kind of constant warfare with each other." This feature of tolerance in English political life, upon which we have continued to pride ourselves since 1688, has now gone too far. Degeneracy is visible even in Party politics. Parties are not really in earnest—except for office. Politics is a game to both. The mimic warfare in the House of Commons is without reality. Social relations between political opponents (except in rare instances, when an individual Minister gets himself disliked by his own efficiency), even when verbal accusations of unpatriotic conduct are freely exchanged, are left untouched. The consequence of the unreality of political life is that no Member of the House of Commons can act as if he were really in earnest without being frowned on by both Front Benches. The cumulative effect of this subtle and silent process of surrendering political initiative by private Members is the gradual accretion of power in the hands of a few members of a Cabinet that itself is not invariably in earnest. When things go wrong, the House of Commons, which is really responsible, has shown itself impotent to produce a change for the better. Influence, to be effective, is exerted from outside. Hence the

House of Commons has lost reputation in the Commonwealth. During the past twelve months repeated examples of the breakdown of the British Constitution in the inefficiency of the public service have occurred, not in one Department, but in many; not in war only, but in diplomacy and domestic administration. Probably more people have been directly affected by the incapacity of the Post Office than by the lethargy of the Foreign Office or the blunders of the General Staff. The lesson is the same in all cases. The Postmaster-General is not appointed because he understands administration, much less because he is an expert in the business of conveying correspondence from one part of the earth's surface to another. The Marquis of Londonderry, for example, was appointed Postmaster-General because he was a great peer, of high character, large possessions, and, being disaffected to the Government of the day, his support was precarious. His representative in the House of Commons was equally ignorant of Post Office administration, and was also formerly disaffected to the Party in office. He is the Secretary to the Treasury, a Department bent on extracting from the Post Office all possible profit, in order that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, also a Party politician, may not incur the unpopularity of imposing more taxes upon the people because the Post Office is efficient. A politician's

interests lie rather in giving satisfaction to the heads of the Treasury than to the customers of the Post Office.

Were the interests of the nation alone consulted, it is almost, if not quite, self-evident that the principle underlying the administration of the Post Office should be that of efficiency, not profit. There are two opposing interests. It is the interest of the nation that efficiency should be the first object of Post Office administration. It is the interest of the Treasury, as opposed to that of the nation, that profit should be the aim principally sought for by the Postmaster-General. Since the interests of the nation and those of their rulers clash, it is natural that the nation, not Ministers, should go to the wall, since power rests with them: not with the people. The chiefs of the Post Office being political officers and ignorant of their business, it is only natural that their subordinates, the heads of Departments, should take liberties which would not be allowed if the Post Office were worked with a single view to efficiency, and not with an eye to the political interests of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Party he represents.

It is futile to complain of the system under which not only the Post Office but all the other Departments of State carry on the administration of the country and the Empire. The only remedy to be

found is in refusing to allow phrases about the original principles of the British Constitution to be used as a cloak to cover the self-interest of clever men, and in holding Ministers personally responsible for the incompetence of their Departments. Mr. Goschen, on February 2, 1900, declared, that if the Cabinet goes wrong the Ministry must be cashiered, and added, "nor can we admit that any single Minister should be singled out for opprobrium."

Here is the gist of the whole matter. No single Minister is to be singled out for opprobrium. They are to receive the pay of their office and social esteem, with the prospect of being ennobled; they are to quaff the intoxicating draught of conscious power—but they are not to be held accountable for anything that does not involve the fall of the Ministry. This claim of irresponsibility by Ministers is naturally followed by the irresponsibility of the permanent officials, since the latter alone possess the knowledge which enables the politicians to wield power without public disgrace. This arrogant claim for individual irresponsibility, which has hitherto been tacitly conceded by a negligent and dozing public, goes to the root of the causes of our failures in South Africa, of our undelivered letters, and of the incapacity of our agents entrusted with our affairs in foreign countries. Individual respon-

sibility of Ministers and officials must be restored to the place from whence it has been filched by the self-esteem and self-interest of the Cabinet trades union. From the top to the bottom of the chain of bureaucracy, each link must be known. Individual responsibility is not inconsistent with the British Constitution—an elastic instrument in the hands of resolute and sensible men.

# CHAPTER V

## POLITICAL HONOUR

FIVE-AND-FORTY years ago the British people were at war with Russia. Then, as in 1899, the nation began the contest with a light heart. Stocks and shares rose. It was anticipated that the speedy collapse of Russia would follow the declaration of war. Then, as in the Boer War, stupidity and incapacity occasioned the loss of thousands of valuable lives. Money was poured out like water. Ineptitude and incapacity of the Government Departments encouraged, if it did not cause, the Sepoy Rebellion, just as the spectacle of failure in South Africa encouraged the Manchu advisers of the Chinese Empress and the French advisers of the Ashanti tribes to embark on the task of evicting the foreigner from their kingdoms. In 1855 burning indignation was expressed by the public. Proofs of administrative inefficiency made people furious. Unable to make out the real causes of the untoward events that had taken place, they were nevertheless resolved to find victims on whom

to wreak their resentment. In 1900 some of the people were angry, but there was no flood of passionate feeling. Tite Barnacle laughed at the talk of reform. The Press controlled the public, and was itself controlled by bureaucracy. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne once remarked that "the nation has been made drunk by oratory and is kept drunk by newspapers." The complacency and indifference of the House of Commons to-day over the betrayal of the country's interests, by incapable administrators, contrasts with the patriotism of the Legislature in 1855. Lord Aberdeen's Government was destroyed in consequence of the administrative incapacity of its members. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, which would probably have fallen if Lambton had not saved Ladysmith, is strengthened, not by the confidence of the people, but by his opponent's greater incapacity and by the paralysis of the rich. In 1855, Mr. Roebuck proposed a Committee of Inquiry. Lord John Russell, a member of Lord Aberdeen's Government, who was before all things an English gentleman, preferred to encounter the virulent malevolence of partisan fury to tamely acquiescing in the country's disgrace. He resigned his place in the Government. Nobody resigns to-day. Nobody is invited to resign. The Committee of Inquiry was appointed in 1855: it reported; the

Government turned out; and for a time the errors and neglect born of a long peace were carefully investigated and redressed. To-day no commanding personality in the House of Commons on the Government side has dared to challenge Ministers on the palpable and humiliating failure of our operations in South Africa. Our vaunted transport arrangements were excelled by those of Spain in 1898. As is the case with the House of Representatives in America, the House of Commons has lost caste in the country. It has parted with the power of the purse to the Treasury. No longer is Government expenditure criticised, much less checked, by the popular Chamber. No longer is necessary expenditure on defence insisted on. Ministers are supreme. The old principles of the Progressive Party handed down from the Revolution of 1688, and held first by the Whigs and then by the men of the type of John Bright and Lord John Russell, have vanished. The House of Commons neither does its own business nor allows other people to attend to theirs. It meddles with what it does not understand, and neglects the duties it is elected to perform. The two principal reasons for this deterioration of the House of Commons are, firstly, the decadence of political character, owing to the lowering of the standard of personal honour; and, secondly, the corrupting influence of the present

system of bestowing national honours on men who have neither served the State nor shown themselves worthy of Imperial distinction.

Now for the proof of these statements. It is a simple question of ethics whether a man can be false during part of the day and in a portion of his career and straightforward and truthful during the rest of his time. Everyone can answer this for himself. I hold that if a man is habitually and deliberately false in politics, diplomacy, or business affairs, he cannot limit the taint he imparts to his character. That the barometer marking the standard of political honour is now low, and is falling, is a fact that may be ascertained by contrasting the characters of the great men at the beginning and middle of the last century with those of our present rulers. Pitt, Canning, and Lord John Russell may be taken as types of the earlier and the healthier school of British statesmanship. Lord Goschen and Sir Michael Hicks Beach may be accepted as representatives of the modern school. Comparisons are not only invidious but inaccurate. There is, moreover, one test by which the standard of political honour may be actually determined. In 1634, when Milton wrote the *Masque of Comus*, it was in keeping with the spirit of the time that a lady should publicly plume herself upon her purity. To-day such things are taken for granted.

No one now compliments a lady on her chastity. What virtue is to woman, honour is to man, but if a public man to-day acts in an honourable fashion we extol him to the clouds because his action, like a fine picture by Velasquez or Bonington, is rare, and therefore prized. The most conspicuous example of self-sacrificing adhesion to principle displayed by a politician in public life in recent years is that of Lord James of Hereford, who, in 1886, renounced the woolsack because he was unable to join Mr. Gladstone in his Irish policy. Lord James of Hereford was an honourable man. He refused to market his principles for a coronet and a place. This act of Lord James Hereford, however, so amazed the public, that from that time to this he has been the recipient of praise expressed in language that implies that his conduct was too noble to be capable of translation into the English tongue. If Lord James of Hereford disbelieved in Home Rule, it is clear that he did his simple duty in refusing to accept pay and place in order to assist in a policy which in his heart of hearts he believed to be injurious to his country. If this be true, praise of Lord James of Hereford for not selling his honour in 1886 is insolence as gross as flattery of a lady because she is not unchaste. The fact that Lord James of Hereford is incessantly praised for not selling his soul and his

country supplies the missing standard of political honour in the present day. The fact of his sacrifice was noble; the fact that he is praised for it is of ill omen.

No longer is honour taken for granted. How can it be? In politics elementary morality has evaporated. It is held to be honourable conduct to lie for the Party. If a man lies in other departments of life, he is found out and shunned. How is it possible for a Minister to indulge in mendacity in the House of Commons, or in the Departments, and to keep the rest of his character in a water-tight compartment? Falsehood in politics or elsewhere saturates the whole character. The essence of a lie is intent to deceive. In politics and diplomacy short-sighted people think that Machiavelli is the highest type of statesman. He is the lowest. Lord Pauncefote has succeeded where the Russian Ambassador at Washington has failed, because Lord Pauncefote is an English gentleman who tells the truth. The Russian Ambassador has economised it. American statesmen appreciate this fact. The same may be said of all our great Ministers and all our great diplomatists. Upon their characters, and not primarily upon their abilities, their achievements and reputations rest. In political life straightforwardness is the exception, but unfortunately the only people who

are really deceived by British statesmen are the British public. Foreign nations are not deceived, because they spend a large sum of money in secret service in England to find out the truth of things. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that everything that Ministers conceal so carefully from the democracy is well known to our Continental rivals.

Why, then, make the lie in politics an integral part of public life? The following are recent instances of intent to deceive in public life which are but examples of things which show the deterioration of our rulers.

As the naval service is by far the most important matter affecting the future happiness and the homes of the people inhabiting these islands, I will take a few examples of what I mean in connection with Parliamentary prevarication in regard to our first line of defence. In 1873, Mr. Goschen represented that we had fifty-one ironclads. A few weeks later, Mr. Ward Hunt demonstrated that we only had fourteen efficient ironclads.

In 1889 and 1899 a return of the ships of Britain, France, and Russia was moved for. In 1889, H.M.S. *Warrior* was struck out of the list by Lord George Hamilton because she was obsolete and inefficient. In 1899, H.M.S. *Warrior*, H.M.S. *Belleisle* (recently sent to the bottom in

eight and a half minutes), and a score of other ironclads were included in the Admiralty returns of efficient ships by Mr. Goschen, because the names of these ships would help to swell the list and delude the ignorant House of Commons, and still more ignorant public, into the belief that the British Navy was stronger than it really is. This matter was pointed out by Mr. C. M'Hardy. A few days after this was done, Mr. Goschen said that he had removed the *Warrior* and three of the other worthless ships from the list of the Navy.

In 1900, Mr. Goschen said that he did not propose to build more ships, because the productive power of the nation would not admit of it. The Navy League addressed letters to all the most reliable shipbuilding firms and armour-plate manufacturers in the kingdom. These letters cannot be published, but I have read them, and I state as a fact that Mr. Goschen's statement was not only untrue, but that he might have known it to be untrue at the time he uttered it. He is made a peer. One firm alone, Messrs. Armstrong & Whitworth, expressed their willingness to enter into a contract for the construction, completion, and delivery of three first-class ironclad battleships and two first-class armoured cruisers, and this

in the teeth of Mr. Goschen's unexpended balances of four millions and a half sterling that were voted in three consecutive years for warship construction. Is it not melancholy that University education, Parliamentary prestige, and Ministerial privilege should be enlisted by a politician in the front rank on the side of deceit and against the interests of the people and Sovereign of Britain?

With regard to the Army, the late Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne (who was lucky to be in Downing Street rather than Holloway for his neglect in maintaining the national reserves of guns and ammunition), said that only six more regiments were needed in order to maintain the efficiency of the Army. This was prior to the conquest and disarmament of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. Lord Lansdowne declared, after the two Republics had been suppressed and disarmed, that forty or fifty more regiments will be permanently necessary. Lord Lansdowne knew in 1896 and 1897 that forty or fifty more regiments were necessary to make us safe, but he did not say so. The public and Parliament, not the Boers or the French, were deceived, and we know at what cost. We have all experienced the humiliation of Continental pity and contempt, simply because Lord Lansdowne either did not know the truth, in

which case he was incompetent, or did not dare to tell the truth, in which case he was worse than incompetent, and should have been dismissed from Her Majesty's counsels for ever. Officials who show the white feather in civil life are no more worthy of protection than officers who are afraid on the stricken field.

In 1900, Lord Salisbury declared that he could not be expected to know before the war began, and did not know before the war began, the preparations made by the two Boer Republics, because the secret service money was insufficient for the purpose. He implied, in fact, that he had been refused what he asked for and knew to be necessary. As a matter of fact, he did get all the money for secret service that he asked for, and there was a balance unexpended, returned to the Treasury. A copy of the memorandum issued by the Intelligence Department of the War Office to our generals was captured by the Boers when they inflicted on our arms an ignominious defeat at Dundee. That memorandum proved the Intelligence Department of our War Office to be marvellously well informed, and yet our Parliamentary representatives sent thousands of our soldiers to an unnecessary death because they had not the courage to ask the public for leave to make the necessary

arrangements for grappling with the realities of the situation. And yet we talk of the honour of our statesmen! If a few Cabinet Ministers who deceived the people were to meet with the fate of Byng, it might restore a healthy sense of honour to administrative circles. Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Goschen, it is true, inherited the accumulated evils of decades and even generations of red tape, but even this does not condone the crime of deceiving the people and neglecting duty; whilst the cant of appealing to the "honour" of the politicians of the common stamp is nauseating to men of sense.

After the Terrible Week in December when we were thrice badly beaten by the Boers, and it was necessary to do something, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were properly sent out on the personal initiative of the Prime Minister. Next day a communication was inserted in the newspapers by the Secretary of State for War, to the effect that Sir Redvers Buller was not superseded and that Lord Roberts' appointment was not intended as a supersession. As a matter of fact Sir Redvers Buller was superseded, and Lord Roberts' appointment was intended to supersede him, because supersession was necessary. No one was deceived outside these islands.

The answers given by successive Under

Secretaries for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the Waima case have been innocently, so far as they were concerned, but notoriously false, with intent to deceive. I have already published repeated and specific instances of untruthfulness in connection with the massacre of British officers and men on British soil by Frenchmen, and the neglect of our own Foreign Office officials to take any measure for obtaining redress. Everyone knows that the Foreign Office is untruthful; the serious point is that nobody cares.

Political falsehood does not pay in the long-run. The truthful statesman may be unpopular to-day and even to-morrow, but if he is patient and cares for his country he will prevail. There is a magic power in simple truth. The public prefer it. It is underrated by those who are unaccustomed to its use. One politician with truth on his side is as strong as a Party without it. The time has come for the British Empire to be trusted. The people can bear bad news, taxation, and disappointment, as no other nation can bear these things, because they are brave and proud, but they insist, first, that the truth is told them, and that lies are kept for our enemies; and second, that their rulers shall not only be conventionally men of honour but honest men.

## CHAPTER VI

## IS OUR "HONOURS" SYSTEM TO BLAME?

THE desire to shine affects Jew and Gentile, gentle and simple, alike. Ambition to be distinguished from the crowd, by fame, not notoriety, so far from being the last infirmity of noble minds, is the instinct of a manly and active nature. To render good service to the State is a privilege that does not come to many people, and therefore the materialisation of national gratitude in the form of a titular distinction is a reward more highly prized than money or ease. Owing to the degeneration of directing ability in government during the last two decades, honours, as now bestowed by our rulers, are debased in value. Men who serve the State are ignored, while subservience to a Minister, the glozing tongues of unprincipled sycophants, sheer importunity, the distillation of a lake of new spirits or the brewing of an ocean of chemical, if not arsenical, beer

too often extract from the Prime Minister a knighthood, a baronetcy, a peerage, or an Order. Since the number of people whose names are known to the public are but one in 5000, while the unscrupulous rich abound, it is easy to perceive why the fountain of national honours is permitted to irrigate more weeds than corn. One thing is necessary to enable importunate nobodies to obtain national decorations. It is necessary that our rulers should use the honours system as a perquisite of office and for their own political advantage. There is no failure to comply with this condition.

To the bulk of the population the bestowal of honours is a matter of no importance. The Birthday List concerns them not. The chiefs of the Army, Navy, Diplomacy, and the Law receive their peerages and their pensions. In this way a sufficient number of fairly good appointments are made, to enable Ministers to reward sycophants and financial supporters in the same coin without exciting popular clamour against a too palpable adulteration of national honours. Ennobling Lord Roberts enables Government to ennoble twenty nobodies. The honours system has done as much to taint our public life as the habit of treating politics as a game. The government of the Empire is something more exciting than

poker and more interesting than bridge, but it is to this day treated as a game.

Against the bestowal of honours I have nothing to urge. On the contrary, it is manifestly a national advantage to be able to express the gratitude of the community to one who has served the State by merely rescuing his Christian name from obscurity, or by enabling him to take precedence of the undistinguished. It is not against the grant of honours, but against the want of method and the atrocious system of conferring marks of the King's favour, that men of sense protest. Anyone who will concentrate his thoughts on the subject for five minutes will agree that the gratification of mere social ambitions, or reward of Party service by the same coin as that given to men who have performed service to the State, is wholly indefensible. The effect of the present system is deplorable. Incompetent or discredited politicians remain in Parliament by "elevation" to the Lords. A hundred years ago political jobbery was more unblushing than to-day, but the statesmen who guided Britain through the great French War were not sordid in their jobs, nor was the influence of German Jews and unsavoury finance permitted to influence the decision of the Minister when creating a peerage or conferring a Riband.

In our days the political thief is adorned by a cross. Formerly the cross was adorned by a thief. Mr Terah Hooley sent in his cheque to Her Majesty's Government for several thousand pounds. It was only to be cashed if he received a baronetcy. Our rulers, strictly according to precedent, were unprepared with a policy. While the policy was preparing, the cheque remained in the safe custody of one of Her Majesty's Ministers for weeks, thus proving that the purchase of baronetcies is by no means an unthinkable proposition by the Front Bench. Both sides are alike.

During the long peace, when it did not much matter whether or not politics was a game, there was no reason why the managing directors of the British Empire should not accentuate their indifference to national honour by confiscating national honours for their own purposes. Things are different to-day. If we are to remain a great Power, we must shed the habits that make for impotence. Rewarding the unworthy is one of them. Neither side in politics can escape condemnation. The bestowal of honours in recent years has been a sordid farce. The Navy, upon which we rely for existence, is neglected in the Birthday and New Year Honours List, while Mr. Goschen, who neglected the Navy, is made a peer. The Foreign Office, which relies on popular

ignorance for its life, decorates and beknights itself until it is a distinction to be an undecorated diplomat. Men with the manners of an organ-grinder and the morals of his monkey are selected for distinction, while the naval officer or gallant Indian civilian, fighting famine with his own life, with no thought but for his country and her fame, is passed over or forgotten. If a Liberal Prime Minister is blameworthy for requiting hospitality with a coronet, his Tory successor singles out financiers and men of pleasure for hereditary honours, while some of the newspaper proprietors and editors, who are supposed to be the watch-dogs of the public, tumble over each other in their eagerness to wear the plush of political servitude. It is interesting to watch the criticism of a newspaper knight on the politics of his patron. It is thus that public opinion is medicated, the springs of truth poisoned, jobs hushed up, and incapacity condoned — in the interests of a Government. Occasionally a man who receives a peerage without having earned it, rats, bites the hand that lifted the coronet to his scheming brow, and illustrates to the present generation the wisdom of Æsop in the fable of the Snake and the Countryman. Anyone who knows the inner political history of our times will recognise the originals of the portraits from whom these examples are drawn.

Degradation of honours was immaterial when politics was a game. Ruling the British Empire has now ceased for ever to be a game. It has now become the most serious work of the strongest and ablest minds we can discover. Although our rulers have not yet discovered the fact that politics is no longer a game, the nation will soon open their eyes. The outlook is black as Erebus. If the ship of State is to live through the coming storm, we can no longer afford to give to idlers and passengers the rank and privileges of combatant officers. In almost every direction administrative incapacity is not only accepted as the normal condition, but failure to anticipate probabilities with intelligence is defended by our rulers, as if want of foresight were the act of God; stupidity is decorated, folly rewarded. Some of those who dispense honours, being themselves incompetent, naturally protect and reward incompetence; while capacity and energy are looked on askance. Fossil officialism is submerged in the Order of the Bath. Bad social influences are brought to bear on the Lord Chancellor, on the Prime Minister, on the Secretary of State for War, and on other Departmental chiefs. The consequences are, that to-day the Bench of the High Court is manned by worse lawyers and weaker jurists than at any time

during the last century; among the Ambassadors or diplomatic agents abroad are only two really able men—and both of them were brought in from outside — Lord Cromer and Lord Pauncefote; the Post Office Administration divides its attention between quelling mutiny and organising a breakdown. The House of Commons is incapable of performing the chief duties it is elected to perform, viz., to prevent jobs, control Ministers, and be master of the nation's purse, partly because far too many Ministerialists are agape for honours to enable them to act judicially and conscientiously as representatives of the people. It is a curious coincidence that space for burial in Westminster Abbey is exhausted just about the time that our breed of great men becomes extinct, and we resort to the practice of conferring distinctions on the undistinguished, in order to perpetuate the rule of the incompetent.

The remedy is simple. Let the services of every man who receives a national honour be recorded and published at the time the honour is bestowed. When this has been done, the effect will be magical. All national honours should, and shall, if Britain is to recover her ancient place, be given on the same terms as the Victoria Cross—for services rendered to the State.

# CHAPTER VII

## OUR CASTE SYSTEM

WHEN the Aryan race, to which the English belong, penetrated into India, they distinguished themselves from the non-Aryan population by the epithet twice-born, namely, those who have passed through a second or religious birth. The self-styled twice-born to this day symbolise their superiority by investiture with the sacred cord. The aborigines of India were dubbed by the twice-born the "once-born." The twice-born Aryans in India (as in England) became divided in the course of time into three classes: the sacerdotal class called Brahmans, the ruling military class called Kshatriyas, and an agricultural class called Vaisyas. A subclass of the Vaisyas were the Zemindars or the landlord caste. The once-born were called Sudras. In England the Brahmans are the State clergy; the Kshatriyas are the Foreign Office, War Office, and bureaucratic oligarchy, and those

who by education at one of the five public schools and two universities are enabled to wear the sacred cord of privilege. The English Vaisyas include the peerage, baronetcy, landed gentry, and political capitalists who can buy nominations to Parliamentary seats or titular honours from a willing Government. The English Sudras are the men on the tramcar, and comprise everyone who does not belong to one of the three castes. In England, as in India, the system of caste which at present exists has modified its original form. The pure castes have disappeared, and out of the intermixture of the others have sprung innumerable classes. The man who keeps a gig, for example, is separated by an abyss from the cyclist, even if he has a free wheel, while, descending lower still, the East-Ender who purchases his nether garments—"kickseys" in the vernacular—from the barrow of a peripatetic vendor in the Whitechapel Road occupies an inferior position to the man who purchases a full suit of bird's-eye neckerchief, bell-mouthed corduroy pants, and big-button velveteen coat. These gradations of caste in the East End are as real as those higher up in society, where a duke with a Garter looks down upon a duke with no Garter, while a new peer is regarded by an earl who is the fifteenth of his line

with much the same sentiment as a sergeant of the Guards looks at a recruit.

So ingrained is the system of caste among that portion of the Aryan race which has settled in England that the efficiency of our public service is seriously imperilled by the artificial distinctions maintained in the interests of the few. In England, as in India, caste has sometimes degenerated into a fastidious tenacity of the rights and privileges of station. The antics of caste take different forms in the valley of the Ganges and on the banks of the Thames. In Bengal, for example, the man who sweeps your room will not take an empty cup from your hand; your groom will not cut grass. A coolie will carry any load, however offensive, upon his head: to save your life, he would refuse to carry you. That is the business of another caste. When an English servant pleads that such and such a thing "is not his place," the excuse is analogous to that of the Hindu servant when he pleads his caste. When an English Zemindar (the landlord caste) claims the front pew in church, the top of the subscription list, and refuses to associate with a tradesman or mechanic, his act would present itself to the mind of the Hindu as a regulation of caste. In England, as in India, caste enters into the most ordinary relations of life, producing

tyrannical laws, incapable administration, and results too anomalous to admit of generalisation. Feudalism was but the hierarchy of caste, and in the relics of feudalism that remain we may diagnose the formalism or red tape which, more than brains or persistent efficiency, ensures to the British official an enduring tenure of his place of profit and distinction.

In England the dominant note of caste is that its members constantly intermarry, and generally devote themselves to some pursuit, profession, trade, or industry. The great and prosperous Jewish nation, for example, is a caste, so far as intermarriage is concerned, and because it devotes itself mainly to finance. It would be foolish to deny that, whatever may be its resulting evils, the caste system is also beneficial in some aspects. A high-caste "twice-born" Englishman, for example, belonging to the Zemindar or Kshatriya class is generally admitted to make a better regimental officer, governor of a colony or dependency, and leader of men than the average low-caste man. Occasionally, in India as in England, a pariah rises to the top. But an impartial survey of the performances of different classes of men shows that, when they can be shaken from their indolence and love of pleasure, the aristocratic

class, of good lineage and worthy traditions, perform the work of leading men both more easily and more successfully than Sudras or underbred people, however deserving or intelligent. Why this is I cannot explain, but the desire to be led or represented by gentlemen, other things being equal, is universal, and there is therefore more sympathy between the working-class population and the gentlemen of England than between any other classes in the community. Tommy Atkins, as a rule, is hostile to the "ranker" officer. In the Navy, experienced bluejackets, who can work quadratic equations and manage a Maxim or run a torpedo, cheerfully take orders from a midshipman raw from the *Britannia*. A man of thirty-one has recently been appointed to the Governorship of Madras with the hearty approval of sensible folk. If he had risen from the ranks, no amount of ability would have justified the Government in giving him the control of thirty-five million people. Ruling men, like vine-dressing, olive-growing, or seamanship, is in the blood. For sixteen or seventeen generations Lord Ampthill's ancestors have ruled. The traditions of his house belong to the history of England. With the consent and hearty approval of all who know the facts, Lord Ampthill's appointment to the Governorship

of Madras is an infinite improvement upon the old style of professional Governor, who was often a needy political placeman, who cared nothing for his work except so far as he could save out of his salary. There is no caste in other countries who are hereditarily expected to serve their country in camp and court, and to serve her unselfishly. To that extent their caste system is an advantage to the British in sending worthy rulers to their distant Aryan cousins across the sea.

The fact that the desire to be led by gentlemen is almost universal may be derided by theorists, but its truth is notorious. If we look at the vexed question of land tenure, there again the caste element enters, and is not wholly without its advantages. Political leaders have industriously fostered the misconception that English land tenure is a solitary exception to the rule of European land holding, and that the people are excluded from advantages that would be theirs if once the system were abolished. If we ask what form of land tenure is the best, the answer can only be given by finding out which of them contributes most to the sum of national happiness. The owners of the great estates are in a better position to contribute to the welfare of the residents than are the smaller proprietors. They

help tenants at a pinch, and assist them to tide over bad times. As a rule, they have more capital than the small owners. They expend it on a system that becomes a family tradition. There is more economy of labour and material. Profit is little, and, occasionally, no consideration whatever to the owner of the great estate. The fact that the agricultural labourer has no rung on the social ladder on which he can place his foot is no refutation of the statement that much happiness and prosperity will pass away when the great estates are broken up under the knife and fork of legal confiscation.

If in certain Departments of national life our caste system is beneficial, there are others in which it is distinctly injurious, and even constitutes a national danger. The leading case in point at the present time is the refusal of the Admiralty to raise the naval engineers from Sudras, or "once-born," to the ruling military Kshatriya class, who are the "twice-born." No naval engineer is on the Board of Admiralty, and yet naval engineers are as necessary to the Navy as the combatant officers. The fiction that the dangers to which the combatant officer is exposed are not shared by the engineers and other idlers, as they used to be called, has been again and again dispelled during the last twenty years. No one can imagine that if a first-rate

engineer had been a member of the Board of Admiralty the coal question would have been neglected as is now the case, or that the Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean would be prevented from executing the manœuvres he considers necessary. Although the naval engineers are admitted to mess in the wardroom and the gunroom of men-of-war, the disabilities of caste remain.

The plutocratic caste is a growing menace to our Imperial position. Many of these gentlemen have no roots in the land. They inhabit town houses, and, if they own a place in the country, it is for display. Their investments being mobile, they themselves are cosmopolitan. The influence they bring to bear upon Governments is noxious, because the British Foreign Office learns to recognise the interests of rich men as those which alone require attention. Thus it comes to pass that the interests of the rich and the poor are by no means always identical, and the diplomatic, naval, and military forces of the Crown are utilised in the interests of the plutocratic caste—a proceeding which may, and sometimes does, injure the bulk of the people of England. The material side of life is emphasised, the soul of the nation is shrivelled as the fronds of a filmy fern when exposed to the fumes of an acid. There is no element of caste more injurious

to the welfare of the Empire than that caste of cosmopolitans who cannot care for country because the faculty has disappeared, from disuse. Still, caste is rooted among us, and has come to stay.

# CHAPTER VIII

## OUR MORAL INEFFICIENCY

### I. THE INFLUENCE OF SMART SOCIETY

THERE is one element which has contributed so largely to our humiliations and to the cost of the South African struggle that it merits separate consideration. The calamities and humiliations we have recently undergone are not due to the action of any public Department or section of a Department in which employment is open to all comers duly qualified. The Commissariat, the Army Service Corps, the Transport Department, and, above all, the Company Officers and the private soldiers, have done splendidly. There is ample evidence to show that the Army Medical Staff have behaved like heroes in the field and have done their utmost for the health and comfort of their comrades. Scandals and breakdowns, when reported, are associated with Departments where privilege and the influence of cliques, caste, and smart society are predominant.

The Foreign Office is a close corporation. Nine-tenths of the foreign work of the country is done by the Consular Department, the pariahs of diplomacy. The Consuls belong to a different social grade to the professional diplomats. The latter are recruited from a small and highly privileged class. The failures of our diplomacy before and during war are of recent memory. The seizure of the *Bundesrath* and the *Herzog* on false information, their subsequent surrender under the humiliation of threats from Berlin, and the subsequent revelations as to arms and munitions being supplied to the Boers by the Germans, would have been impossible if the Foreign Office were organised on plain business principles and worked by men who lost their occupation if they were stupid or idle, instead of being assured of protection by their social influence, no matter how stupid or incapable they proved themselves to be.

In the same manner the higher branches of the British Army, which had become a great social machine, have also been annexed by smart society. The Queen's uniform, compulsory on the private at all times, is eschewed by the officer off duty. This privileged caste has egregiously failed to justify its monopoly of good Army appointments, and one reason why fitness and efficiency have been sacrificed in the higher branches of the Army is

because smart society exercises a greater influence over our rulers than considerations of national safety.

## II

The best specimens of a race, whether among men, pigeons, orchids, or horses, are only to be found where the laws of breeding and of culture are carefully obeyed. Bad smart society, destitute of culture, and not remarkable for breeding, assumes too much in identifying itself with aristocracy. The two have nothing in common. If a word may be coined to describe them, "kakocracy" is the term more fitly to be employed in speaking of the bad smart set. To be spoken of as "kakocrats" may yet be their destiny.

It is only necessary to remember the characteristics of the best of our old governing families, in order to show that there is nothing in common between them and the libertines and triflers who wish to be mistaken for aristocrats. Renegades with historic names are to be found in bad smart society. But their presence no more invests the inhabitants of our modern *Parc aux Cerfs* with aristocratic distinction than the visit of Judas to his paymasters imparted apostolic sanctity to the High Priest. Treachery to their order, by misconduct, may

perhaps bring down the House of Lords, but the defection of a few among them from their duty is fortunately too small to enable the ruck of smart society to make good their claim to identity with the aristocracy. German Jews are often more prominent in smart society than English dukes. His Grace the Duke of Norfolk has been pronounced to be "not in society" by one arbiter of fashion.

The system of land tenure and of primogeniture, which have allowed great estates to descend unimpaired from one generation to another, may have its drawbacks. There is also another side of the account. It secures to those dwelling on the soil material and moral advantages greater than any that are promised under any alternative system, and it enables the heads of great families to take part in public affairs without the imputation of interfering in politics for what they can get out of it. To the real aristocracy of the country I look for a remedy for the disease with which our nation has been infected by bad smart society. The subtle meshes of public opinion appeal as powerfully to men whose names are honourably interwoven with the history of their country as to their less prominent fellow-subjects. The pruning of olives in the plains of Lombardy is said to require a training of three generations. There is no reason

to believe that the art of government is more easily acquired than that of olive-dressing. Hence the importance of bringing young men into Parliament and to Government who are independent, patriotic, and hostile to the financial schemers and their "smart" parasites, whose influence has introduced the blight into our national life. The irretrievable mistake that was twice made by the French—once after their revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and again on the occasion of their great Revolution—was the execution or exile of their best men. We have retained our good families. The smart set are the worst enemies of the aristocracy, because they and their financial parasites provide raw material for wars and revolution. If, however, the smart set is to be "scotched," the great families must renounce their policy of silence, refuse to sanction by their presence the social saturnalia of the smart set, and come forward in person to insist on a higher level of decency and behaviour in general society, and a higher standard of efficiency being exacted from our public servants. If they neglect their duty, they will fall with the rest.

What I wish to point out is, that inefficiency in certain Departments is due to inequality of opportunity; that public servants are sometimes chosen by favour rather than for fitness; that if the Empire is to be stable, a new departure is necessary; and

that the malign influence of smart women on public appointments must be ended at all costs. The fundamental change required is to revise our views of government so as to secure the ablest men of high character for the public service, irrespective of birth or wealth. Business men and business methods are despised by those who owe their positions in whole, or in part, to the intrigues of smart society. The consequences are inevitable: muddle and costly waste in time of peace; death and disaster in time of war. To eliminate the irresponsible society element from government is essential, in order to attract to the service of the State intellects that now devote themselves to making and working the great railways, organising fleets of mail steamers, and administering commercial affairs on a great scale. There will always be room for the aristocrat in public affairs. Englishmen prefer (other things being equal) to be led by men of good stock. Financial intrigue has acquired too much influence in public affairs. To counteract the evil, we need the combination of business men and of the true aristocracy of the land, and the assertion by the middle classes of their lost rights.

On these grounds the qualification of candidates for Parliament should be more closely examined than has hitherto been usual. Folk with axes to grind should be rejected. There are far too many

lawyers in the House of Commons, and although some of them are good men and true (so far as a man can be good and true who lives by hiring out his intellect to either side in a dispute), we are almost as much in the power of the lawyers as of smart society. The Lord Chancellor, for no particular reason, gets £10,000 a year, and £5000 pension for life. The Attorney-General receives about £17,000 a year. Captains Percy Scott, R.N., and Hedworth Lambton, R.N., who saved Ladysmith, get pittances. Why? Because the average M.P. is either too much afraid of smart society to fight against such absurd contrasts, or is so identified with extreme views that his opinion carries no weight. The national reform most needed to-day is not in the machinery of voting, nor even in the type of candidate chosen by the electors. It is that the sleeping Demos should wake, resume the management of national affairs, and send idlers and triflers about their business—peacefully if possible—but send them packing.

There is one custom which differentiates the gay world of London from all that has ever gone before. Every dead Empire has had its bad smart set. In Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and under the two Napoleons, bad smartness contributed its quota to the ruin of a nation. Smart society has existed

for centuries in England. When the occupants of the throne were themselves licentious, and bad smart society was in the ascendant, the nation rotted visibly at the top. In the days of Elizabeth, however, smart society, so far from being universally corrupt, rose to a high level of distinction. Men of action then filled the public eye. Patriotism was honoured rather than despised. Efficiency was the vogue. If at all times and in every land the smart set diced, drank, and danced, and revelled in the roses and raptures of vice, in the Empires that are dead, and even when Charles the Second was king, they travelled outside their own set to raise money for their pleasures.

We have changed all that. Nowadays the money-lender and the money-monger themselves belong to smart society. They ruffle it with the best. No longer is it necessary for smart people with straitened means and expensive tastes to repair to the Ghetto for cash. The foreign Jew is found at their table; he entertains them in return; and supplies them with what they lack — for a consideration.

Here let me be precise. I make no reference to good Jews of any land, and they are many. One gallant Jew, whose ancestors had dwelt two centuries in this country, died for England on Spion Kop—gave his blood and life to buy the freedom

that is won for all white men south of the Zambesi. The foreign Jew in smart society did not go to the war. His feelings are under control. He takes no sides; rules his conduct by his interests; and exploits prodigals on terms of social equality. Fortunately for the foreign Jew in smart society, the recent wave of Imperialism has been so closely identified with the name and fame of Mr. Cecil Rhodes that the worst aspects of Semitic manipulation of African finance have eluded notice. Mr. Rhodes has interposed a great personality between some of his associates and public opinion. But for this fact, and the protection of the smart set, foreigners of a certain type domiciled in England might have met with an outburst of national indignation. Some of the alien supporters of bad smart society already attract attention. In December last, after one of our earlier disasters, I met a well-known Member of Parliament, with an historic name, in a state of burning indignation. "What is the matter?" said I. "Matter enough," he rejoined. "I've just left——," naming a well-known German Jew hanger-on of smart society, "and he said, 'I like dis news; it vill gif a goot shake-out to shtocks — dat iss healthy.'" While the bodies of Anglo-Saxon and of Celt were lying unburied on the veldt under the African sun, this Teuton-Semite philosopher could see no other

aspect of the reverse to our arms than that it would "give a good shake-out to stocks."

The influence of bad foreign Jews on bad smart society is so real a danger to the Empire that it would be miraculous that the Press had ignored it, but for the remorseless control exercised by society and by Jews over the expression of public opinion hostile to them. The Anglophobe Press abroad is written mainly by foreign Jews. In numbers, in wealth, in power, and in subtle influence over the whole community, foreigners, both poor and rich, are increasing by leaps and bounds. Material success is as truly the god of the smart foreign Jew as it was in the days when his ancestors worshipped the calf of gold. Material success has never yet become the British ideal. These German Jews, who have already captured rather than earned so large a part of the good things going in England, despise the smart society they use as instruments for advancement. They will not intermarry with them. This island of aliens in the sea of English life is small to-day. It is growing. Rule by foreign Jews is being set up. The best forms of our national life are already in jeopardy.

Having studied this question in every country in Europe, I look with amazement and sorrow at the facility with which foreign Jew financial schemers have fastened on our parasitic and

greedy, bad smart set. Even the French, whom we affect to despise; the Russians, whom we regard as children of the seventeenth century; and the Americans, who have no aristocracy, haughtily decline to admit moneyed aliens who unite rapacity with display into the best society of their respective countries. As a promoter or expert in the flotation of companies, in deluding the public by inflating worthless securities with an artificial and effervescent value, and in the art of using smart society, there is no equal to the German Jew. His success in England is imperial. His appetite for titles, decorations, and social recognition has been whetted by what he has received. His power, though unsuspected by the masses, is non-moral and immense.

When we survey other nations and perceive how weakness, self-indulgence, want of foresight, self-respect, culture and industry are enabling astute, industrious, or unscrupulous Jews to destroy the power of whole classes, as in Austria or in France, it is impossible to watch without a shudder the union of alien Jew finance with English bad smart society. Such a combination bodes no good. Neither party is patriotic. One has lost by satiety the love of country; the other has no country to lose. When the history of our times is written, the sinister partnership

between foreign Jews with powerful intellects and British smart society with empty pockets and powerful connections will be revealed. Both partners regard patriotism as fertile soil from which money is to be made; they respect women so little as to find them out of place anywhere but in places devoted to feasting or repose. The home-life of the pleasured classes is disappearing. These people have too much influence on the State. No law can redress the evil except the highest of all earthly laws—that of self-preservation. If the Empire is to last, our family life must be protected.

III

Before the French Revolution began or bromide was invented, unpaid peasants were compelled to flog the ponds all night, in order that the sleep of the *seigneurie* might not be disturbed by the croaking of frogs. We know the consequences. Privilege asserts itself in other ways to-day. It snubs the "Colonials," insults Volunteers, condones incompetence, shelves good generals and advances rich ones. It is successfully deceived by Dr. Leyds. It feasted and fawned on the Jameson Raiders. Privilege liked the Raid: said that it was Elizabethan. It takes pay and pensions for

work it does not perform. It jokes and dines when men were dying for us in the front. It chatters idly in Parliament at the hour when prompt and drastic action is needed to save the State.

Any smatterer can pen a readable jeremiad. Pessimism needs neither imagination nor experience. The one qualification of sterile Cassandra in her exercises on the field of prophecy—where all are equal—is indiscriminate denunciation of our national life and character. Pessimism is needless in our present troubles. The surgeon's knife is useful only to cut the proud-flesh from an otherwise healthy national organism. Smart society is the proud-flesh in a body politic for the most part sound and wholesome. The diseased area is spreading. Excision is the only remedy. To diagnose the disease, we must explore its symptoms and lay bare the evil.

The unit of strong nations is the family. All legislation, habits, ideals, policy, or ambitions that increase the welfare and multiply the number of happy families are good for the nation. Things that stunt, belittle, or ridicule domestic life are bad for the nation. This is commonplace, but bedrock truth. Turkey is what it is, mainly because the harem replaces family life in the upper or wealthier classes. The note by which bad

smart society may be recognised is its contempt for family life—its loathing of domesticity. Home is hell. The restaurant is better. Luxury and over-feeding seven days a week kill desire for aught else but feeding and luxury. Plays and music-halls, restaurant-dining, eternal card-playing, and the racecourse produce satiety; and satiety of the senses is the tomb of honour.

The art of conversation in smart society is extinct. Slang shibboleths, composed of baby-talk and Italian or French tags to the Queen's English, form the dialect of the smart set. Disreputable women, who affect the conduct of Lais without her graces, are among the leading spirits of smart society. When the morals of the poultry-yard flourish in the atmosphere of the stable, it is only natural that the intelligence of the jockey should be applied to the problems of Empire.

To enter the charmed circle, neither brains nor breeding, birth nor influence, are necessary. All that is required is money, and then more money—with an insolent contempt for the laws that are the unseen foundations of civilised society. A "useful" adventurer thus equipped can buy his way into illustrious circles as easily as he picks up a yearling at Newmarket. Every now and then an explosion takes place, and the public learns with bewilderment that cheating at cards

is not unknown in smart society, or that women who are courtesans in all but name are no more tabooed to-day than they were excluded from the Pavilion at Brighton in the days of the Prince described by Thackeray as "the First Gentleman and most finished blackguard in Europe."

The secret influence on government wielded by this Comus rout of Circes, sybarites, cynics, and financiers is subtle and profound. It is revealed to the public only in its effects. Legislation, foreign policy, taxation, is not always settled in Parliament. The real decisions are sometimes made elsewhere: in smart drawing-rooms in the season; on Sundays in country-houses; in boudoirs and restaurants. Is a man "straight," a girl modest; do they decline to bow the knee to bad smartness? Their reputation and chances are destroyed by the janissaries of a smart society, always on hire at their own price. The wrong class of American women—people who are not received in New York or Washington—are pushed into what is seemingly, but not really, exclusive society. During the last ten years the speculative financial element has become prominent in places where formerly it was despised. These capitalists are not in society for their health. They are on the prowl. They spend freely. Their largesse is an investment. As the modern nabob is com-

monly of alien extraction and of Eastern origin, he regards his adopted country with Oriental detachment of mind. Schemes are pushed by the force of public enthusiasm for Imperial expansion, which is adroitly manipulated for the benefit of unscrupulous financiers and their henchmen. Smart women without character, men without self-respect, and an Administration too effete, or preoccupied, to see that England's greatness is slipping away from her, are the allies of this infamous confederacy.

It is not the custom of the English people to make futile changes. Still, nothing less than structural alterations will avail. The House of Commons is losing self-respect as it sheds its traditional functions. Parliament will necessarily continue to sink in national esteem until it reflects the character and brain of Britain, as well as it represents Irish discontent, and the capitalist, alcoholic, and social interests of the United Kingdom. Through the Press and a reformed House of Commons alone can the nation strike home at smart society. Men can do anything they like, if they only want it enough. When public opinion wishes to pronounce its verdict against infamy and licentiousness in high places, to forbid the manipulation by smart society of national affairs, it is certain that those who wish

the end can find the means. Yet the heads of the great families maintain silence. To them the country looks for leadership and deliverance.

## IV

Since character is the prime source of national strength, any evil influence sapping national character menaces national efficiency. In dealing with our ecclesiastical system in its effects on efficiency, I do so purely from a secular standpoint. With the religious side of Establishment I have no concern here. Still, no examination of the causes that have led to the deterioration of character and decay of efficiency in government can ignore the gradual rise of sacerdotalism, the vast ambitions nourished by a large section of our State clergy, and the influence of those ambitions on our national life. From a moralist's no less than a statesman's point of view, there is much to be said for the Established Church. By no other conceivable system could be planted out in every parish a godly and learned man who, with his family, presents an example of refinement and orderliness that goes far to create and maintain, throughout all ranks, a high standard of decent and moral existence; so far as an Established Church increases morality, and

raises the standard of public conduct, it is an instrument for efficiency. When, however, the tendency of an Established Church is to weaken moral responsibility, to confuse the issue between right and wrong, and to blunt the sense of truth and honour in the common people, then the efficiency of the nation is impaired, because the springs of national character are poisoned at their source. In these days of rapid travel and universal half-education the national importance of the State Church is obscured, and the direct personal interest of each English citizen in the State Church is apt to be forgotten. The history of the Church of England, however, is so indissolubly interwoven with the history of England that it is impossible to ignore it. The fabric of the cathedrals and abbeys of Britain belongs to the nation, not to that section of the community which professes the Anglican doctrine. The bishops are Lords of Parliament, and as such are the rulers, not only of Anglicans, but the nation. The revenues and regulations of the Church of England are subject to Parliamentary control, and the Legislature is responsible for the conduct and consequences of our prelatical and sacerdotal system. A strong party within the Church of England denies the rights of Parliament, and denounces as Erastian all forms of secular con-

trol. Still, the fact remains that the bishops and clergy of the Church of England are officers of State, and are subject to State control within well-defined limits, in the same sense as officers of the Army or Navy are under discipline. They have a duty to the State. The archbishops and bishops are political appointments for which the Prime Minister is directly responsible, in the same sense as he is responsible for the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General of India, or the Junior Lords of the Treasury. The interference of Parliament with the Church of England since the time of Henry VIII. is written on many pages of the Statute Book, enters into every chapter of national life, and for good or evil is a marked characteristic in English policy.

The most prominent feature in the ecclesiastical organisation known as the Church of England is, that it is a Protestant Church. The Coronation Oath, which refers to little else, emphasises the Protestantism of the English Church. The succession to the throne is limited to Protestants. The Reformation is the most conspicuous landmark in the moral history of England. Archbishops and bishops are consecrated, and priests are ordained, subject to their acceptance of certain doctrines laid down in the Thirty-nine

Articles. Not until that adhesion is given are the temporalities bestowed on them. The bishops undertake to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word, and they swear that they will correct and punish unquiet and disobedient clergy within their dioceses. Every priest expressly swears on the occasion of his ordination to teach the people committed to his care and charge the doctrine and sacraments, as this Church and realm hath received the same. They undertake to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, and they promise reverent obedience to their bishops, undertaking to follow with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting themselves to the bishops' godly judgments.

The nature of the doctrine of the National Church is set forth in the Articles of the Church of England, which contain the true doctrines of that Church agreeable to God's Word. To these doctrines all clergymen subscribe. So far as my argument is concerned, the creed set forth in the Articles of Religion accepted by the State clergy is a matter of no importance. What, however, is of public concern is the fact that a large proportion of the State clergy, not only repudiate the doctrines to which they have subscribed, but teach their congregations the very creed

they have expressly sworn to abjure. The 28th Article, for example, declares that Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ and is repugnant to Scripture, and that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. The 30th Article declares that the Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people. The 24th Article declares that it is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God to minister in a tongue not understanded of the people. The 31st Article declares that the sacrifices of masses were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. The teaching of the most powerful section of the Anglican priesthood on those subjects is notorious.

A considerable, if not the most powerful, section of the Church of England, including both bishops and clergy, accept and teach the doctrine of the Mass. They believe in the reservation of the Sacrament. They mumble the services to the people, that they may not understand, and they teach the doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worship, and adoration as well of images as of reliques, and also the invocation of saints, which they have expressly and solemnly repudiated when they signed the 22nd Article of Religion. If these things were done by the priesthood of

a sect or incorporated religious body dealing with their own property, the dishonour of such conduct would not be a national concern. Since, however, the English Church is an integral part of the English nation, the dishonour or untruthfulness of State-paid ecclesiastical teachers is a scandal affecting the national character too intimately to be ignored by anyone who considers for a moment what are the true foundations of national efficiency.

The example of a priesthood accepting stipends and holding benefices under express contract to teach one doctrine and reject another, and then teaching the doctrine they have sworn to reject and denouncing the doctrine they have sworn to teach, necessarily results in the natural consequences of intellectual dishonesty. Too many of the bishops are in open or secret sympathy with their clergy, to enforce discipline. The direct consequence is, therefore, a divorce between religion and conduct. I am not presuming for a moment to suggest whether the Ritualists or their opponents are right or wrong. This is irrelevant. My single object is to point out that the character of the nation must degenerate where the clergy, or a large portion of them, are palpably and publicly dishonest. A clergyman who is receiving pay for teaching a doctrine which he

believes to be untrue, and which he spends his life in denouncing, is precluded from teaching the principles of honour and straightforwardness, notwithstanding saintly or ascetic conduct. The lives of these clergymen are many of them self-sacrificing, filled with missionary energy, and burning with sacerdotal enthusiasm; but, as they are not straight themselves, they cannot teach their congregations to be straightforward. Truth and honour are the two bedrocks of English efficiency.

There are only two remedies for this state of things. One is to alter the Articles and re-cast the doctrine of the Church of England; the other, to disestablish the Church and enable the priests to teach what they like. It is not possible to urge that non-Anglicans have no interest in the Church of England. This is a matter which deeply concerns the British Empire and every citizen in it at home and abroad, because the English Church is a part of the English nation, because the rulers of the Anglican Church are the rulers of the Empire, and because Parliamentary responsibility for the teaching of the State Church is inalienable, since Parliament is the final tribunal to which the Church and the nation alike can alone appeal. Whether the doctrine of the Church should be revised or the Church dis-

established is a matter of opinion upon which I will not venture to touch, but I appeal to the common sense of the people of England, to forbid the poisonous scandal of the present condition of the Anglican Church from contributing further to the degeneration of English character. The history of England is the history of defiance to the claims of sacerdotalism, and the priests who to-day claim powers that were taken from them, for good reasons, by our ancestors are supported by funds provided for the most part for the purpose of breaking sacerdotal aggression. Responsibility for our moral inefficiency is largely attributable to the corrupting influences of foreign financiers and ambitious priests on silly women.

# CHAPTER IX

## OUR PHYSICAL INEFFICIENCY

### I. THE CULT OF INFIRMITY

THE first element of efficiency is health. Since the majority of the English people took to living in streets, with all that that means to health, their dependence on physical fitness for bread, defence, wages, and Empire has increased rather than diminished. Towns swell and villages empty, but our rulers continue to adapt the administration of an Empire that must either grow or die to the systematic manufacture of infirm citizens. Unlike the Boers, we create a fighting machine out of a small and carefully chosen *corps d'élite*. The maintenance of British interests could not be entrusted to men taken at random from the great towns. The vigour of the male population of the Transvaal was such that they contemplated without emotion a meeting with the flower of the British Army. A quarrel between two nations,

one of which lives mainly in the open air, and the other mostly in streets and tenement houses, suggests the reconsidering our own attitude towards the unfit.

The harvests of recent years have been reaped in many counties by bronzed veterans of fifty or more and by boys of fifteen. Country-born labourers in the prime of life are now white-faced workmen living in courts and alleys, for arsenical beer is independent of barley or hops, and wheat is bought more cheaply from pro-Boers than it can be grown at home. This process of village depopulation is unceasing.[1] When the present generation of elderly agriculturists is extinct, it is difficult to imagine the source from which their places will be filled. On the causes of the rural exodus I will not touch. Its effect on the stamina of our people, and especially on the efficiency of our defenders, is sufficiently interesting to all who consider the rapid physical improvement of rival nations under

[1] In 1884, 8,484,730 acres of corn under cultivation in United Kingdom.
In 1898, 7,400,335 " " "
In 1884, 15,290,820 acres of permanent pasture.
In 1898, 16,559,392 " "
In 1884, 66,910,443 cwt. of wheat and wheat-meal and flour imported.
In 1899, 194,297,767 cwt. of cereals and flour imported.

a system of general conscription and protected agriculture. Even the education of our country-bred children is a training for town life; raises city ideals; breeds discontent with agriculture. The Education Act of 1870 may have done some good; but, like Free Trade legislation in the Forties and Fifties, it was the conception of street-bred brains; and Mr. Forster's good work had one drawback. It may be credited not only with crippling the British agriculture which Sir Robert Peel enfeebled, but also with lowering the standard of national health by emptying the villages into the towns.

It is a curious comment on the artificiality of our social system that no stigma attaches to preventable ill-health. Parental neglect, premature and reckless marriage leading to the multiplication of tainted brains and rickety frames, are matters of indifference to "practical" politicians. Votes are not injured by disease. Christian charity is invoked to canonise weakness, whilst preventable ill-health is honoured under the sacred principle of individual freedom. No law prevents the union of a consumptive swain with his strumous sweetheart; no restriction interferes with the colonisation of our great towns by diseased aliens; neither Church nor State debars penniless and undersized striplings

from undertaking parental responsibilities. Breakdown in purse involves social disgrace; breakdown in person, whatever the cause, evokes sympathy, subscriptions, and silence — except where our celibate soldiery are concerned.

According to the testimony of the late Sir Andrew Clark,[1] 70 per cent. of the patients under his treatment in the London Hospital owed their ill-health to excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors. No matter what may be the cause of their ailments, the poor civilians can always count on obtaining medical relief at the cost of other people. No inquest is held into the origin of disease. British loyalty marked the two Jubilees of the late Queen mainly by the establishment of innumerable institutions for the half-cure and multiplication of the unfit. Since Fabiola, pitiful of unrelieved distress, frequent famine, and the sale of children in Rome, established the first public hospital, any reflection on the hospital system has been regarded as an assault, not only on works of mercy, but on Christianity itself. So universally approved is indiscriminate mercy that no statesman has yet pointed out that sightless compassion and the neglect of elementary considerations of health are enfeebling the British race, and thus menac-

[1] *The Action of Alcohol upon Health*, p. 9.

ing the future of the Empire. Relief of anguish is always invested with glamour, even when it hands on the pain of the individual with usury to numerous unborn. The brow of blind mercy is encircled with the aureole of sanctity. Deformity and taint are become the objects of reverential affection. Cruel work is done in the cap and apron of a Sister of Mercy; for nothing less than the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon is assured, unless improved stamina and greater physical fitness of our city folk are assured. If there be no feature of Roman civilisation more repulsive than its indifference to suffering, there is something still more revolting in our own tendency to overwhelm the strong and healthy with the ever-growing demands of profligate, thriftless, and prolific invalids. The association of human suffering with popular entertainments rendered the people callous in the reign of Augustus; in the reign of Victoria, hospital, sanitary, and poor-law machinery for treating avoidable disease, and thus tainting posterity, implies an indifference for our successors incompatible with humanity.

As the higher average of life has been accompanied by a lower average of health, so the duty of relieving pain has not only gradually obscured the sense of trusteeship that each generation

should hold for its successor, but has gradually impaired the manly and vigorous ideal without which no race can long maintain a world-wide Empire. No problem is more perplexing than the steady advance of democratic power, while the health of the larger fraction of democracy is deteriorated by the conditions of their lives. Our species is being propagated and continued increasingly from undersized, street-bred people. The payment of two vows is accepted by the community. One is that no matter how idle a man may be, he shall not starve; the other is, that no matter how careless of himself he may be, his sufferings shall be allayed at the cost of others. What is the inevitable issue of this cult of infirmity? Either loss of an Imperial position acquired by the healthy, never to be recovered by invalids, or the transfer of power from the United Kingdom to the Colonies. Mercy to the present generation of unfit may be good, but the next and the one after will justly complain that the relief of pain absorbed national energies that had been better devoted to the stamina of the people. The Empire will not be maintained by a nation of out-patients.

Increase in numbers is commonly regarded as a sign of national progress, and as evidence of the soundness of the State. Recent growth of popula-

tion of the United Kingdom, however, is actually a symptom of political decline. A vast population has been created by the factory and industrial systems, the majority of which is incapable of bearing arms. War by land and sea is delegated to a fraction of the people. No matter how sentimental the plea, nor how delicate the diplomatic situation, there is none too delicate for an urban electorate, immune from conscription, and not hankering to enlist, to resist the temptation of clamouring for war in which they will not lose a finger or a five-pound note. The stationary population of rural France, conventionally regarded as a proof of wickedness, is in reality a sign of health and vigour. In France everyone knows that if he clamours for war, upon him and upon his sons and brothers will the brunt of battle fall. The mercurial character of the French people is thus restrained by the knowledge that war can no longer be waged on conditions of limited liability, while the physical condition of Frenchmen, in spite of Fleet Street illusions on the subject, has been greatly improved since 1870. In England it is otherwise. Not only is fighting restricted to picked men who are picked and repicked, but even the pastime of the people consists of watching the hirelings of the football field or backing horses they have never seen. Spectacled school-children, hun-

gry, strumous, and epileptic, grow into consumptive bridegrooms and scrofulous brides, and are assured beforehand of the blessing of the Church, the aid of the compassionate, and such solace as hospitals provided wholesale by unknown donors can supply. If a voice be raised in protest against the unhealthy perversion of the command, "Be ye fruitful and multiply," it is drowned in a chorus of sickly emotion. Townsmen who depend for bread and life upon the physical fitness of our soldiers and sailors, destroyed the peasantry, are destroying our merchant seamen, and still require Parliament to remove obvious safeguards against preventable disease. So enamoured are our moralists, however, of unfitness, so indifferent are our rulers under the multiplication of the unfit, that the lads who form our necessarily celibate Army in India suffer, in the name of morality, twenty times as much from preventable diseases as the "immoral" French soldiers. It would be as reasonable to refuse to extinguish fire when lit by incendiaries, as to allow unfitness in soldiers and sailors to be transmitted to the innocent unborn because the cause of the trouble is a failure on the part of our young warriors to maintain an ascetic ideal of monastic virtue.

In the Manchester district 11,000 men offered themselves for war service between the outbreak of hostilities in October 1899 and July 1900. Of this

number 8000 were found to be physically unfit to carry a rifle and stand the fatigues of discipline. Of the 3000 who were accepted only 1200 attained the moderate standard of muscular power and chest measurement required by the military authorities. In other words, two out of every three men willing to bear arms in the Manchester district are virtually invalids. There is no reason to think that the Lancashire towns are peopled by a stock inferior in stamina to that of the other large towns of the United Kingdom. On the contrary, the population of London includes a larger proportion of incapables per thousand than the population of Manchester or Liverpool.

That the second generation of street dwellers in London does actually deteriorate in physical force and stamina is shown by the action of experienced contractors when carrying out large public works. It is their habitual custom to import from country districts or from Ireland as much labour as they can procure, and to ignore the inferior supply of manual labour already on the spot. The effect of this importation of countrymen is to infuse a healthy element in the urban population, but thirty years of inhalation of smoke produces upon the second generation the inevitable effects of degeneration and decay. This process of emptying the country into the towns has been in progress for

sixty years, and the extinction of the yeomanry and the peasantry is now accompanied by a famine of all kinds of agricultural labour, not only in England, but even in Scotland and in Ireland. Oatmeal, which formerly built up the sturdy frames of healthy and hardy Scotsmen, has been discarded as a food, and white bread is peddled in carts from place to place where formerly white bread was never seen. In the south and west of Ireland imported food forms the staple diet of the population. In County Cork, for example, the poorer classes do not even eat their own bacon. They sell it for 9d. per lb., and buy Yankee bacon for 6d. The use of tinned fish and frozen meat by a large section of the whole population is now an established custom throughout the United Kingdom, and we do not yet know with scientific accuracy what is the effect of substituting artificially preserved food for food that is fresh and home grown. On the other hand, alcoholic indulgence and unwholesome beer show no sign of diminution. When we add the results of free trade in certain diseases to the effects of bad drink, of improper food, of breathing contaminated air, of dwelling in insanitary dwellings, and of the concentration of the bulk of the population in great masses for industrial purposes, there is no cause for wonder that the physical condition of the town population of these islands is

one that warrants the gravest alarm. If we continue for another twenty years as we are going on at the present time, there is little doubt that the delicacy and infirmity of the race will then prove unequal to the maintenance of a great and growing Empire. What was won by a hardy people, fed on their own beef and bread, will scarcely be held by invalids.

Nothing but the certainty of the approaching exhaustion of the street-bred people of Britain, and their consequent inability to hold what their fathers have won, warrants the indictment I desire to lay against our rulers. Deaf as the adder to the muttering of the coming storm, blind as the eyeless fishes of prehistoric times, our absent-minded Cabinet of egotists, clerks, and rhetoricians never dream that the decay of the race is a crime for which they are personally accountable. Britain has four serious rivals, and while none of the four is deteriorating in physical stamina, two of them are actually improving. France is firmly set among the nations by her peasant proprietary, of whom there are at least four millions, while a considerable number of her people are addicted to rural life. Where a successful Englishman of the humbler ranks takes a public-house in a town street, a Frenchman who has saved money buys a bit of land. Germany, with 20,000,000 of her people

dependent on over-sea trade, is improving the physique of her people by the wise prevision of her statesmen. In the great towns "rookeries" are ruthlessly abolished, and hygiene is firmly prescribed and required by the State.

In Russia the overwhelming majority of the people are established on the land, and the hardiness and the industry of the moujik in his open-air life are the admiration of all who have seen it. Russia helps to feed England while the two are at peace. In the United States the area for settlement, if not illimitable, is sufficient to give everyone breathing space, and even New York and Chicago are alive to dangers from physical degeneration with which our own Government merely trifles. In none of the four countries named is there a poor law, while physical fitness is ensured in three out of four by compulsory military service. We are thus confronted with the unpleasant fact, that while Britain's population is replenished not wholly but increasingly from its least desirable specimens, our possible enemies are becoming increasingly able to wrest from us what remains of our world-trade. Nations that renounce the strength that comes from living in the open air do not long continue to produce efficient men. The obvious cause of the failure of some of our statesmen and our generals is that

they live too much in drawing-rooms and boudoirs; eat and drink too much and too often to endure hardness, or to prove themselves a match for the leaders of our less sedentary rivals. But it may be said, our aristocracy and our middle class are generally of good stamina. Granted. But no courage or stamina in the comfortable classes will avail us in the great day of wrath, if the masses are deficient in physical health. Let those who think that England is safe watch the white faces of the street crowds next time they attend a cricket or a football match, and contrast the health and virility of the players—not necessarily with the spectators who pay for admission, in the West End, but with the swarming masses in the untouched slums in the South and East of London, or with the white-faced operatives of Manchester, Northampton, or Leicester.

Obviously the first thing to be done is to awake the nation to its own peril. We have 110,000 men in the Navy, and about 360,000 men in the Army, who are fairly healthy, although sadly prone to contract pneumonia, consumption, enteric, kidney disease, and other diseases. Outside the Army and Navy, the police, constabulary, Volunteers, fire brigades, and athletic clubs of the United Kingdom may be reckoned as healthy men. The remainder are mainly hospital out-

patients, enfeebled with bad air, sedentary lives, drink, and disease. The more aged and inactive politicians who rule us would be none the worse themselves for medical inspection. An engine-driver at fifty-nine is periodically examined by competent medical authority before he is allowed to drive a passenger train. On the engine-drivers of the British Empire is imposed a harder task. Infirmity of purpose, dread of responsibility, nephritic irritability, neurotic petulance, and mental lethargy are physical symptoms betrayed by several members of the Cabinet during the Session. The first step, therefore, towards obtaining an efficient people is to eliminate from among our rulers all those who are themselves physically and mentally inefficient. If rotten at the top, the process of regeneration is not likely to begin at the bottom.

Nothing systematic is done by the State to teach the innocent and thoughtless soldier or civilian youth how to preserve his health. He is taught much, but he is not taught that, except by an exceptional commanding officer or schoolmaster here and there. What that health is may be gathered by studying the reasons why applicants to join the colours are rejected. Presumably before a man attempts to enter the Army he must feel able to do the work. He knows that he

must pass a severe medical inspection. Nevertheless, there are 403 applicants out of every 1000 rejected on inspection. In 1898 the medical department of the Army inspected 66,501 recruits; out of these, 23,287 were rejected — a fact that does not say much for the stamina of the hardiest section of the population. After being thus weeded out, fed up, and trained for a soldier's life, the flower of these young men are sent to India. Once there, sixty-seven out of every hundred men are found to have contracted contagious disease in one form or another. The state of the Royal Navy is but little better. The periodic boards held at Netley for drafting men out of the service are described by those who take part in them as the saddest duties that fall to the lot of naval officers. If the soldiers and sailors who thus fall victims to the prevailing indifference to the future of our race, although they are surrounded with medical skill and care, supply such horrible statistics, what is to be said of the lower classes of a civilian population which has no reason to be more moral than its defenders? The result is seen in the growth of idiocy, cancer, and consumption. Insane women are received *enceinte* into public asylums. A child is born brain-tainted. After a certain time the mother is discharged, cured,

only to re-enter the same asylum later on and repeat her sinister contribution to the census returns. If anyone interested in the manufacture of the unfit will do as I have done, and will visit the asylums maintained by the ratepayers, he will discover to his horror a vast plant of machinery for infecting the next generation. Our secular claim to the command of the sea is incompatible with our practice of manufacturing the unfit.

According to the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, the rate of death from cancer was higher in 1897 than in any previous year on record, and the male and female rates exceeded by 20.2 and by 10.6 per cent. respectively the corresponding mean rates in the previous decennium. The mean annual mortality of both sexes of all ages rose from 761 for the decade 1861–70, to 1453 from 1891 to 1897. Among men in the flower of life, namely, from thirty-five to forty-five, the rate of increase since 1861–70 has been equal to 89 per cent.

When Semite tribes in Judea lost their most eligible males in border squabbles, the inspired command, "Be fruitful and multiply," had common sense behind it. To-day, in East and South London, and in the great cities of the kingdom,

the philoprogenitiveness of an unsound proletariat is sheer decadence. Malthus, in any of the five phases through which his opinions passed, is out of fashion. Of foreign food to-day there is plenty for those who both will and can work. Of health, physical and mental, there is a diminishing quantity. Modern civilisation and philanthropy, on the whole, are hostile to conditions of sound national health. The boy-and-girl marriages of the pauper classes are a loathly scandal. Not only do the Churches approve, bless, and "celebrate" them, but they ban the reformer who unmasks the fiction of a marriage tie with the facts of filth, animalism, and infidelity. The marriage of destitute and sickly minors is a fruitful recruiting-ground for the unfit. Every clergyman and parish doctor knows the facts. But incense and altar lights engage more of prelatical attention than the deterioration of our race. Nonconformists can show no better record than the National Church. When a happy home and healthy children are conditions impossible in a marriage union, justification of the marriage is absent. The State that sanctions and the Church that celebrates such marriages settle their own destiny. The moral and physical condition of the progeny of such unions can be predicted with as much accuracy as the next

eclipse. There is no mystery. England has now entered a new stage in the struggle for national life. Asia, as well as Europe, is about to contest with us the right to the first place. If we are to hold our own, the folly of perpetuating mental and physical disease by organised methods must be abandoned. To do so, one essential preliminary is, that the relations between our marriage laws and destitution and crime be investigated.

The relation between charity and charities has been strained for years. The two celebrations of the late Queen's long reign have done much to bring about the final rupture between them. In 1887 and in 1897 everyone with a fad to advertise, or an axe to grind, recognised an opportunity. People who wanted baronetcies pestered people who wanted to be let alone, to cure destitute invalids so that they might propagate the unfit. Already the annual outlay of six and seven millions sterling on metropolitan charities, public and private, has given rise to evil conditions, which, though ignored by our rulers, will be savagely revenged by Nature. Even the thoughtless begin to have misgivings as to the efficacy of our charity system. The greed of the idle poor is roused, parental responsibility annulled, helplessness fostered, and a cult of ill-health held up to a race that loses Empire when it parts with

vigour. The funds laboriously collected, not only perpetuate and increase these conditions, but, by extinguishing the personal element in charity, multiply the brood of charity middlemen who obtain a living by the system of substituting cheque charity for the charity of personal contact between giver and receiver. That money is not the missing word in our charitable system is shown by the fact that enough money is already subscribed in London to provide annuities of 15s. a week all the year round to half a million persons. No one, however, seems to have contemplated the possibility of celebrating the late Queen's reign by recovering the vanishing stamina.

From the foregoing statement of facts three deductions follow:—

1. Whatever factor is wanting in dealing with distress, there is no lack of money.

2. That the struggle for life among professional philanthropists tends to pauperise the masses by killing the wish for self-help, and thus bequeaths to posterity a legacy of moral and physical unfitness greater than that inherited by the present generation from its predecessor.

3. That so far from the Queen having been honoured by the numerous projects for multiplying and maintaining the unfit, Her Majesty was dis-

honoured, the country imperilled, and irremediable wrong inflicted on posterity. The object of national aspiration should not be the succour of sickness, but the establishment of the conditions of health. Men of great wealth constantly appeal to the public to subscribe to charities for supporting other people's children, or for nursing persons who are victims of their own or their fathers' indiscretions. The late Duke of Westminster declared, for example, in a letter dated March 3, 1898, published in the *Times*, that — "Of all charitable works begun during the Queen's reign and awarded Her Majesty's patronage, few can take higher places than the National Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic (Albany Memorial)."

If anyone really believes that it is of greater national importance to maintain, at the cost of £16,000 a year, 200 beds for the paralysed and epileptic than to suppress the root causes of paralysis and epilepsy, it is odd that we treat our horses on a sounder system than our fellow-subjects. To tell the public that the maintenance of the victims of hereditary intemperance and self-indulgence, from which class most epileptic patients are recruited (although Julius Cæsar was one), is a worthy object for the savings of the middle and working classes, is at least a doubt-

ful assertion. The out-patients at the London hospitals might easily save the price of a quart of beer or a gill of gin to pay for advice and treatment; but most of them demand medical relief as a right, and many accept it without gratitude. Nobody, seemingly, has arrived at the conclusion that the late Queen's long reign would have been more fitly distinguished by an effort to increase self-help among the masses, or to arouse in them anew the racial pride of healthy Englishmen, than by any conceivable increase to the competitive cheque charities which were a feature of Jubilee years.

Any scoundrel may publicly appeal for cash in the name of charity. If he merely stole the money, he would probably do less harm than under a system which needs only to be stated in order to be condemned. A., who is busy or idle, is appealed to for money by B., who wants a living or reputation, on behalf of C., who is thriftless and unhealthy. The invalid C. is thriftless and thankless precisely because it is an Anglo-Saxon custom to collect money on his behalf, and he can therefore see no reason why he should exercise self-control or avoid preventable disease. How, indeed, can he be grateful, seeing that he never learns the giver's name nor sees his face, but receives his dole of drugs and

mends his fare by the hand of a hired official? A Russian story tells that the Most High once gave a feast to the Virtues, and finding that Charity did not speak to Gratitude, while the other guests conversed freely, asked why. Charity answered for both: "We never met before."

The present generation of the unfit is doomed. No ducal or Jubilee funds can save it. The unreformed hospital system manufactures unemployable men and sickly women, who will prey upon the healthy citizens of 1931. The health of the people can be bettered by no agencies that ignore such root-questions as the restoration of a vigorous peasantry to a soil in which they are interested; the conditions under which the population is renewed; the character of the home, and the obligations of parental responsibility. Some of these things lie in the domain of morals, not of government; but the Churches are too busy with doctrine to devote themselves to the question as to how the realm is peopled. There is no sign of a reaction against the cant that loads the dissolute poor with favours, while brave men and women who refuse to be proselytised prefer to die of hunger in a garret rather than sue for alms. In changing our present methods, however, we must carry with us public opinion. Flippant people of lazy mind talk lightly of the "lethal

chamber," as though diseased Demos, half conscious of his own physical unfitness, but electorally omnipotent, would permit a curtailment of his pleasures or the abridgment of his liberty. We shall get little help from Parliament—itself in a bad state of health. The change required is in public opinion. We must abandon the formulæ that the increase of a decayed population is a popular boon; that every poor man in need of help is an innocent victim. Of the London and New York unemployed, at least two out of five are not only unemployable, but unworthy of help. In other words, a sterner attitude by the average man towards pauper voluptuaries is essential if England is to begin to deal with her unfit. Consider the army of 26,000 tramps who infest the high roads of England, rob and rape when they dare, and use the casual wards as hotels. Extirpate them by immuring them for life, not because they are wicked but because their stock is corrupt. Until we are content to see the idle perish, if they choose to perish, little change for the better in the health of the people can be looked for. If public opinion demands the maintenance of the idle poor, maintain them; but immure them.

The next stage in the process of sterilising unfitness and levelling up the national stamina

is for generous people to do more of their own charity for themselves. Amid the din and clatter of functionaries, multitudes in dire need, the salt of the earth, ask for nothing, and perish unheeded. These unknown sufferers maintain the honour and reputation of our race. To discover them personal trouble is needed. No honours are given for the relief of persons who won't ask. This method takes time and trouble, but the solution of the health problems of a street-bred people is only possible if everyone takes upon himself a bit of the task. Cheque-charity through hired middlemen suits the modern sycophant of democracy, who imagines that by fawning on the unfit, flattering the unemployable, and subscribing to unreformed charity funds, he advances civilisation. He digs its grave.

No one should be allowed publicly to appeal for money unless his accounts are subjected to a public audit. A certain standard of accounts should be exacted from public charities as from public companies. The system that enables infirm loafers to perpetuate their species, while genuine and undeserved distress is habitually passed over, engenders revolutionary bitterness among the masses. These huge charities only whet their appetites for more; more they will

have. To be idle is as distinctly a trade as politics, but no one would suspect from the flamboyant appeals made by rival celebrants of the late Queen's reign that wilful idleness and self-indulgence are no bar to the receipt of the vicarious benevolences invoked in the name of the blood Royal from a bewildered public. Whole streets in London exist where the inhabitants regard the stream of alms ever flowing from rival religious bodies as their rightful due. The landlords of these streets remember these alms as they will remember Old Age Pensions, if they ever come to pass. If one sect gives a tea to a thousand children, its rival follows suit with double the number. The guests present at feast No. 1 are invited to the second. The entertainments are critically compared. Relief by A. who is sorry, through B. who has a dogma to sustain, of C. whose rags are the consequence of calculation rather than necessity, is the most prolific source of Hooliganism. If the dissolution of society is to be stayed, it is clear that no increase of doles will be effectual while the fields are untilled and the towns ignorantly control the national destiny. If the nation is to be "graded up," existing sources of degeneracy must be cut off. To do so, society requires not money, but common sense; not heedless pity for individuals,

but wise compassion for the race; not emotion, but courage to face ghastly truths. For the present we are safe from attack by barbarians from without. Patches of barbarianism within require not pity but the knife. What can society do to discharge its duty as trustee for posterity, to preserve the vigour of the race, and to raise the practicable ideals of Anglo-Saxons? If we are to become a healthy people, the permanent segregation of habitual criminals, paupers, drunkards, maniacs, and tramps must be deliberately undertaken. Secondly, the marriage law requires overhauling. In England a girl may be married at twelve years of age, and a boy at fourteen. A limit of age suitable to a sub-tropical country does not harmonise with our climate and social conditions. A medical certificate of physical and mental fitness for the marriage state should be exacted by a wise State before union, in the interest of the unborn, who deserve justice no less than their parents deserve compassion. Such a condition involves no hardship. A few wealthy and aged bridegrooms might feel aggrieved. If, however, people are unfit to assume parental responsibilities, and are medically pronounced to be unfit, social stigma should justly follow defiance of the highest social law. In the endeavour to recall

the nation to common sense on the subject of health and fitness, the most effective agencies will be the good sense and righteous self-interest of women, and recovery by the Christian Churches of the sound judgment in such matters which characterised Moses. Since the moral sanction of marriage, irrespective of fitness, proceeds mainly from the Church, sacerdotal example must be added to clerical precept if the poorer classes are to be extricated from the welter of necessity in which they exist. The doctrine of the blessed quiver and the virtue of a redundant cradle will become plain once more where healthy children are the rule, and ill-health is regarded rather as presumptive of disgrace to the parents than a misfortune of the offspring.

The late Queen of England was dishonoured by singling out disease as the one feature of the Victorian era by which she is to be fitly remembered. The production of sound minds in healthy, athletic, and beautiful bodies is a form of patriotism which must be revived if modern England is not to follow ancient Babylon and Tyre. Unless our town dwellers take heed and recognise that we have begun to rot, our position as a World Power is doomed; our expectancy of life reduced from centuries to a few generations, or even to decades.

# CHAPTER X

## SHOULD BUSINESS MEN RULE US?

GREAT events do not always make the most stir. Decisive change in a nation's destiny is often silent in operation. No one can divine the exact moment when a process of decay or development reaches its crisis. An interesting historical category might be made of decisive events which marked epochs in the destinies of great nations, but which at the time of their occurrence made no noise in the world. Napoleon's plans for the domination of the world were doomed from the time when Villeneuve in 1805 decided to avoid Brest and to take refuge in Cadiz, from which he never emerged except to meet his own and his master's fate. In modern times our own history, too, records events which attracted little or no attention at the time, but which have proved big with fate. Mr Childers' decisions, when First Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards as

Chancellor of the Exchequer, which placed the Treasury in a position of supremacy over the other Departments, was an event of the greatest importance, wholly unmarked at the time. Still more recently, in the China Seas, a decision was taken by the British Cabinet which, merely affecting the action of a single British cruiser, was an event that marked an epoch. England had (and for that matter still has) Treaty rights in Port Arthur equal to and ranking with the legal privileges of Russia. When, however, H.M.S. *Iphigenia* pointed her taffrail towards Port Arthur at the bidding of the Tsar, an event of incalculable moment to the Anglo-Saxon race took place, the effects of which will long be felt by those who come after us. The relations of Slav and Briton in the Far East were then and there modified for all time by the renunciation of undisputed Treaty rights, and that in spite of a preponderance of naval force in the China Seas which has since passed away. With true British luck, Port Arthur may silt up, or the Russian Empire may break down. Still, the fact remains that the *Iphigenia's* scuttle out of Port Arthur is as irrevocable and irreparable an event for us as the retreat of the French fleet from Alexandria harbour before the bombardment of Lord Alcester is for our neighbours.

The lesson that plain citizens have learned from the *Iphigenia*, the Boer War, and the palsied handling of public affairs which is now habitual, is, that while the government of Empire is a task more exacting in 1901 than in 1801, the willingness to lead, characteristic of our rulers at the beginning of last century (irrespective of ability), is replaced for the most part by a pathetic anxiety on the part of the ablest men to-day to renounce initiative, and to learn the wishes of ignorant voters on complex and difficult affairs. The ears of our rulers are on the ground. They listen anxiously for Demos to give them orders on complicated questions on which they alone possess material for decision; they concentrate their whole faculties on learning the views of people who, from the nature of the case, must necessarily be ignorant of the thing they are asked to decide. Inaction is more than a creed; it is an inspiration at all times when action is required to meet trouble that is not imminent. This is modern statesmanship, and is well pleasing to the permanent officials who rule our rulers. Our Army organisation is both costly and unsuccessful, because our rulers did not tell the people the truth, even if they knew it; and they muzzled those who could. If they spoke out, Ministers would risk the loss of their places—places won,

not because they are business men, but because they are incessant and unscrupulous talkers, and skilled defenders of abuses.

What is more remarkable is, that the rhetoricians and their henchmen in the newspaper press arrogate to themselves a distinct superiority over the men who merely do things and not talk about them. The latter are ruled out of court by the former when the question of government is concerned. The first Sea Lord is a nobody to the scribe in the street. The Commander-in-Chief is the clerk of a rhetorician.

When discussing the question of a new and regenerated Cabinet after the recent General Election, the *Times*, as spokesman of the bureaucracy, wrote as follows of such men as Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Cromer, Sir G. Taubmann-Goldie, Sir Thomas Sutherland, and many others who might be named:—

"Nor is it easier to discover outsiders of approved experience and high distinction whose help could be enlisted. Lord Cromer's name has been freely mentioned as that of one who might preside over the Foreign Office or the War Office. We yield to none in our appreciation of Lord Cromer's incomparable work in Egypt, but to take a man who has so long been practically his own master, and who has had no experience of govern-

ment by discussion, and to throw him, in his sixtieth year, into the whirlpool of Parliamentary controversy, would be an experiment as hazardous for the statesman as for the State. The suggestion that Lord Charles Beresford should be placed at the head of the Admiralty appears to be equally beside the mark. He has done immense service by stimulating the public interest in the Navy. He is a most ardent, courageous, and distinguished sailor. But he has given no such signs of political and administrative capacity as would entitle him to be placed over the heads of the senior officers of the Navy who would be sea lords under him."—October 11, 1900.

These things were managed differently by our grandfathers. It is interesting to speculate, for example, on what would have happened if one of our modern Ministers instead of Lord Barham had been First Lord of the Admiralty in July 1805. Lord Barham, while in bed on the morning of July 9, 1805, received important news of the French fleet. By 9 a.m., without waiting to dress or consult the mob or his colleagues, he had dictated orders to Cornwallis to raise the blockade at Rochefort, and to Calder to intercept Villeneuve, thus enabling Nelson to thwart the primary combinations of Napoleon. Lord Barham was an octogenarian, and no orator. But he could act, and he did.

When Britain fought her battles with men fed on British beef and corn, the defence of these islands was a comparatively simple affair. If the Royal Navy was beaten, there was a second line of defence on shore. Now that we rely on the friends of our enemies for food, we have no second line of defence. If our battle fleet is beaten, we are finished. Preliminary failure in naval war for Britain is permanent ruin, because the command of the sea once lost cannot be regained in time to prevent our collapse through starvation. Hence the necessity of obtaining the ablest and cleverest business men as rulers who understand life as it really is, for the purpose of keeping us out of war, of providing us with a system of strong Imperial defences in case of war, of restricting the area of war if war must come; and, not least, of averting from us the synchronous antipathy of the whole world. How do matters stand now? All the efficient and most of the inefficient Powers hate us with all their hearts, with all their souls, and all their understandings. They would hail our fall with delight. We are "soup" to Germany; the "enemy" to France. Neither Russia nor the United States would arrest our fall.

Can there be more irresistible evidence of the incompetence of our rulers than the universal hostility of the civilised world? We are not liked—

that may be our own fault, or due to prosperity, —but if we are not respected, that is the fault of our rulers. We are not respected because at critical moments, such as that of H.M.S. *Iphigenia* at Port Arthur, in questions of policy, such as the influx of Boer armaments through Delagoa Bay, and the search of the German steamers for contraband of war, our rulers have swerved when they should have gone straight on in pursuit of British interests. The immense cost of our Imperial defences should have commanded for us not only the respect but the proffered alliance of half Europe. In competent hands the British Navy and Army would have insured for England not only respect and alliances, but peace, or a small war, instead of a great and prolonged war conducted largely by Militia and Volunteers. Our rulers are estimable men, of high character in private life, who never breathe an untruth—out of business hours; but the mere fact that Great Britain is "out" with all Europe is the proof that our affairs could scarcely have been worse managed by a committee of vestrymen. The one man in the Cabinet who has done well is the only man who has not received a university training, and to him mainly we owe it that the Colonies have been with us in our trouble. It is not mere accident that Mr. Chamberlain, a man of the middle class,

without ancestral traditions or training of the conventional kind, has done more to maintain the reputation of the Empire than his eighteen colleagues in the Cabinet of 1895—all of whom, I believe, were university men. I am not arguing that Mr. Chamberlain was always right in his policy. I merely draw attention to the fact that, right or wrong, Mr. Chamberlain displayed the qualities of a business man. He knew his own mind, looked ahead, and acted firmly and decisively on his own knowledge. This is the type of ruler required. Breeding is important, but not all-important. Business men to govern a nation relying on business, not agriculture or sentiment, for food seems to be one condition of our future existence. The Cabinet of 1900 contained two business men out of twenty.

Nothing has revealed the incompetence of the ruling class more clearly than their sensitiveness to public criticism at home, and their indifference to public opinion abroad. To the historian of the future it will seem unintelligible that the Government of England, a country which has done so much to create and develop the freedom of the Press, has silently allowed judgment to go against us by default, without using the facilities offered by the Press to stem the stream of falsehood that has poisoned the minds of foreigners against us.

Nothing could have been easier when the Boer War broke out than to form a Press Bureau on the Continent and in the United States. A few thousand pounds judiciously spent in presenting the English version of the facts of the Boer War in every civilised country would have had an undoubted effect in appealing to the minds and consciences of foreigners. The English people have been condemned in their absence by the laziness or ignorance of their rulers. It is estimated that a sum of £10,000 spent in circulating facts relating to South Africa would have been sufficient to have placed before the public of Europe and America a presentation of the English case in the vernacular of the various countries concerned. Nothing was done. The Press of the Continent and the United States has poured forth a continual stream of Anglophobe misrepresentation and contumely. It is too late in the day even for the English to ignore the court of public opinion. Individuals, societies, strike leaders, and nations alike appeal to it. It was the duty of our rulers to place before the bar of the civilised world the case for England. Mere reliance on the righteousness of our cause is not sufficient, if we wish to live at peace with the world. Foreigners are human beings, and a large proportion of every white nation under the

sun, having much in common with the British people, only requires to be instructed in order to evolve a sympathy which would stand us in good stead, and might even avert war that may become inevitable, simply because English action has been misunderstood in the past.

The controversy which is raging on the subject of coal constitutes a further example of the business incapacity of our rulers. France and Russia have been buying steam coal in immense quantities; in consequence of these purchases the price of coal has been raised against the English Government, driving our Admiralty to buy coal from Pocahontas. If it be true that the export of coal is so enormous that the manufacturing position of this country is menaced, then our rulers prove themselves unfit for the place they occupy. The strategical aspect of the coal supply is a matter upon which the Government alone can pronounce an authoritative opinion. The people ought to be told the facts, and the Government should announce their decision on the subject without hesitation. As it is, the question of coal supply bids fair to become the battledore of Party politics, and since the Party in office is generally more afraid of its opponents than of its supporters, the tendency of the Unionists is to carry out the policy of the Home Rulers; just

as the Party which is nominally Protectionist out-Herods the Free Traders in the violence of its adhesion to the extreme doctrines of Cobden and Bright.

Turn where we will, there is scarcely a subject connected with the well-being of the nation that is not capable of being dealt with satisfactorily and successfully by good business men, and which at the same time is not neglected or mismanaged by the absent-minded people who are in authority over us.

# CHAPTER XI

## OUR PERMANENT OFFICIALS

"Last night the House of Commons voted away £41,807,400 in 4 hours and 40 minutes."—Daily Paper, *Wednesday, June* 20, 1900.

"The discussion was of a languid character. The Terrace was unusually full. Strawberries and cream were dispensed by Honourable Members to large numbers of gaily dressed ladies who crowded the Terrace."—Daily Paper, *June* 20, 1900.

"To him it (Downing Street) meant something very different—the most admirable devotion to the public service (cheers)—a marvellous loyalty to its chiefs, a most painstaking industry, a most careful and patient inquiry; it meant stores of experience which had been gained by years, and even by generations of previous work; and it meant the acquirement of knowledge of the conditions of the colonies throughout the world which was absolutely unsurpassed, and which sometimes was greater than the knowledge of those who were presumed to be infallible because they were on the spot. (Mr. Chamberlain at the Corona Club.)"—*Times, June* 21, 1900.

THE real rulers of the British Empire are not Cabinet Ministers, but five inaccessible gentlemen whose names are unknown to the multitude. They are:—

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| Treasury . . . . . | Sir Francis Mowatt. |
| Foreign Office . . . . | Sir Thomas Sanderson. |
| Colonial Office . . . . | Sir M. F. Ommanney. |
| War Office . . . . . | Sir Ralph Knox. |
| Home Office . . . . . | Sir Kenelm Digby. |

I do not include Sir Evan Macgregor, the Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, because his influence and power of initiative are in no sense equal to those of his fellow-mandarins in the other principal offices of State. The Cabinet make decisions. The Permanent Under Secretaries carry them out. Cabinet Ministers are ignorant and nominally responsible. The Permanent Under Secretaries are irresponsible, but having the knowledge possess the power, although, by a convention that has sprung up in the last forty years, they are not supposed to exercise it. The state of things thus described implies the existence of good relations between Ministers and the men who do the work of the nation. Hence the gradual disappearance of accountability from the holders of political office, which has been accompanied by the evaporation of all responsibility on the part of the permanent officials. Cabinet collective responsibility exonerates individual Ministers. Individual Ministers exonerate the bureaucracy. Modern convention in the Press prevents the naming of the permanent officials and heads of Department whose indolence or stupidity is the direct cause of national disaster or expense. Every year a Civil Service dinner takes place at which one of the principal Secretaries of State attends to lavish ladlefuls

of praise, which permanent officials now expect as part of their remuneration. This doctrine of the immunity of permanent officials from public censure is new. It does not extend farther back than a generation and a half. The doctrine is a convenient one, because it enables the ring that have captured the machinery of Government to escape the consequences of their own stupidity, greed, or idleness. The Cabinet is collectively responsible for everything. The individuals composing the Cabinet are actually responsible for nothing. The permanent officials, who carry out the behests of Cabinet Ministers, and who transmit to their subordinates the orders they have received from above, are treated as sacrosanct. They are veiled prophets. Anyone who would lay hands upon them and show what they really are is thrust through with a social dart, or stoned like the inquisitive Semites who were bent on penetrating the mystery of Mount Sinai.

There is really no mystery about the permanent official system. With difference in detail, it is the same in every country, because it is governed by the permanent facts of human nature. Since a higher tone of public morality prevails in England than in most other countries in the world, the prevailing standard extends to her permanent officials. They are accordingly, as a rule,

industrious, able, patriotic according to their lights, incorruptible with money, though amenable to other influences, and imbued with the conventional English view as to what a respectable official should be. On the other hand, they are as much penetrated by the notion that the country exists for the Civil Service, and not the bureaucracy for the country, as the Russian *Tchinovniks*. This fact may be proved in a hundred ways. The Foreign Office presents perhaps the easiest and most palpable evidence at hand. The cost of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service is £348,982 per annum. The Consular Service, which really performs all the inevitable work required in conducting the relations between nation and nation, costs £18,297 per annum. The 200 Foreign Office and Diplomatic men, therefore, cost the country nearly twenty times as much per head as the Consular men, who do nearly all the necessary international work of the country. Take, for example, the history of Sir Thomas Sanderson's predecessors for the last fifty years. Mr. Edmund (afterwards Lord) Hammond was Permanent Chief of the Foreign Office from 1854 to 1873. Lord Tenterden had nine years of office, from 1873 to 1882. Sir Julian Pauncefote, now Lord Pauncefote, from 1882 to 1884, when he was

kicked upstairs because he was too good and too honest a man for the place. Sir Philip Currie, now Lord Currie, from 1884 to 1894, when he was succeeded by the present holder of the office, Sir Thomas Sanderson. With the exception of Lord Pauncefote, who was legal adviser to the Colonial Office after having been Attorney-General in Hong Kong, not one of these gentlemen was a fit selection for the office he held. Lord Pauncefote, the brilliant exception, long our admirable and successful Ambassador at Washington, was an outsider, and was brought into the Foreign Office because within the precincts there was a famine of brain power. This untrained diplomatist has held his own among the smartest politicians of the United States, and has acquired not only popularity but respect. His departure from the Foreign Office condemned our diplomatic system. Lord Hammond was long known as the "Impostor Hammond." He was a past-master in red tape, and was largely instrumental in spiting and thwarting Russia when England was engaged in "putting her money on the wrong horse." Lord Tenterden was an impecunious peer who succeeded unexpectedly to the title granted to a Lord Chief-Justice. He was incapable of grasping a great idea or of sympathising with a noble

impulse. Lord Currie's failure at Constantinople was sufficient evidence to the public of the manner of man to whom the permanent administration of the Foreign Office had been previously committed for ten years. The acceptance from the Sultan of a valuable present on the occasion of a relative's marriage was proof of the estimate formed by the Ottoman Porte of English sincerity in protesting against the Armenian massacres.

I have referred elsewhere with appreciation to the administration of the Colonial Office as standing out among other Departments as a model of promptitude and business capacity. Previous to Mr. Chamberlain's acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Colonies, the Colonial Office was somewhat parochial in tone and sentiment. It trembled before the Prime Minister. On the occasion of the Colonial Conference, convened by Mr. Stanhope, at the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, the proceedings of a whole day were suppressed from the Blue Book because Lord Salisbury received such a "dressing" from the Australian Delegates on the subject of the New Hebrides, that the publication of the report would have scandalised the nation. Lord Salisbury had not mastered his facts, and emitted so many blazing indiscretions that the Colonial Delegates fell on him and rent him, "tossed and gored him," as

Boswell said of Dr. Johnson. The reason for Lord Salisbury's escapade was that the permanent officials of the Colonial Office were looked down on by the Foreign Office, and the chief of the latter Department accordingly was not primed as he should have been. In recent years the Colonial Office has plucked up heart, and has discovered that it has nothing to fear from comparison with its more fastidious and exclusive but less capable neighbour across the way. But still there is a very grave scandal in connection with the Colonial Office, which is the subject of just resentment all over the world wherever a Crown Colony is administered from Downing Street. The Secretary of State is of course too busy personally to supervise the sixty-six governments under his control. He, accordingly, remits to others the duties. Of late years, however, the Crown Agents for the Colonies have gradually usurped power which formerly rested with the Colonial Office. It is scarcely too much to say that in some important aspects the Crown Agents for the Colonies form the real Government, and the Colonial Office a merely subordinate instrument in their hands. The influence of the Crown Agents has become so marked that several of the local governments of the Crown Colonies have become restive under their management. The firm of solicitors to the

Agents of the Crown Colonies include a partner who is brother to the gentleman who was lately one of the Crown Agents. These solicitors make an enormous income, under circumstances which call for Parliamentary intervention. The Crown Colonies are required to keep balances in the hands of the Crown Agents. The Crown Agents in their own free will can take legal opinion on points connected with a Crown Colony irrespective of the expression of any desire of the authorities on the spot, and can and do stop the cost of these legal luxuries from the balances in their own hands. I have been credibly informed, and believe, that the income from this source to certain private individuals amounts to a sum that may be called enormous. This being so, it is obvious that of all the possible candidates for the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonial Office there were three gentlemen who should have been considered out of the running for the appointment. The senior Crown Agent, however, Sir M. F. Ommanney, K.C.M.G., was recently appointed, and this appointment, though doubtless convenient from the bureaucratic point of view, is indefensible on national grounds. Under any circumstances, the whole question of the remuneration of the Crown Agents and the manner in which the legal business of the Crown Colonies

is conducted, the sums received by the solicitors to the Crown Agents, and the emoluments of the various persons connected with this anomalous Department, should be investigated by Parliament without delay. The scandal connected with the Uganda Railway is largely the result of a system which is now materialised, strengthened, and solidified by the appointment of Sir M. F. Ommanney as Permanent Under Secretary of the Colonies.

I will give one more instance of my proposition, that under the present system the country exists for the permanent officials and not the bureaucracy for the country, from a recent example of War Office methods. It will be within the recollection of everyone that the present Government acceded to office on the question of the reserve of munitions of war, more especially cordite and explosives. In thus accepting office the Government of Lord Salisbury were pledged up to the hilt, if they were sincere in turning out the Government of Lord Rosebery, to maintain an ample reserve of warlike stores in the country. They have not done so. I am informed, on authority, that the whole of the ammunition for the Crimean War was manufactured by Great Britain. At that time we had allies. Now we are friendless, and I state from my own know-

ledge that we do not manufacture our own ammunition. I will give the proof. On or about May 23, 1900, the steamer *Stamfordam* cleared from the port of Trieste for Shanghai. On board this vessel a large number of cases were shipped marked "Cheese," "Ham," "Butter," Shanghai. Instead of steaming eastward, when emerging from the Adriatic, the *Stamfordam* set her course westward for Gibraltar, where, on June 6, she was met by the *Braemar Castle.* To this vessel she transhipped her "cheeses," "hams," and "butter," which were then conveyed to Cape Town. Needless to say that these War Office hams and cheeses were really shell made on the Continent. The silly secrecy adopted by the permanent officials of the Department deceives nobody but the British public. They wish to hide the fact that England is not manufacturing her own ammunition, even for a war with a couple of petty Republics. On June 19, only eleven days after the *Braemar Castle* had left Gibraltar for Cape Town with German shell secretly bought and secretly shipped, the House of Commons voted £8,000,000 for warlike and other stores inside thirty minutes. No Member asked a question as to whether England was manufacturing her own explosives and ammunition. They were engaged on the Terrace

eating strawberries and cream. Our permanent officials are directly responsible for the ignorance of Members of Parliament, as they can scarcely be expected to acquire knowledge on such subjects for themselves.

When the alterations in the franchise were effected in 1832, 1867, and 1885, it was assumed that because the vote was more widely distributed reforms had actually been accomplished. The measures by which Parliament effected alterations in the franchise were known as Reform Bills, as though there were any inherent relation between the multiplication of voters and the reformation of our institutions! Between the machinery of reform and the attainment of reform there is a wide difference. Our bureaucratic system to-day has riveted the fetters of caste more tightly than ever. The Civil Service is divided into Brahmans and pariahs. The Brahmans are recruited from university men, by means of competitive examinations. These contests, although undoubtedly a measure of intellectual ability of a certain kind, have no necessary connection with faculty for the transaction of business. Mathematical or classical distinction no doubt increases the power of perception and expression, but they have no relation whatever to those particular qualities of mind which go to make up a good business man.

Common sense is only to be learned in the world. A scholar may possess it, but, if he is without it, university training will not supply the missing quality. The result is that the First Division clerks enter on their labours with highly trained intellects, and are there set to superintend the work of the Second Division clerks, whose examination is of a simpler character, but who have had six years useful apprenticeship in the public offices. The newest recruit of the Brahman caste takes precedence of the oldest pariah in the lower division. The absurd anomaly thus arises of a higher division Brahman superintending the work of an experienced lower division pariah, who is actually in receipt of a larger salary and in possession of greater knowledge than his master. The barrier between upper and lower divisions of the Civil Service should be thrown down. The work of direction and supervision should no longer be maintained as the preserve of the university Brahmans who happen to possess the capital and influence to acquire shibboleths which have no more relation to efficiency than the examinations of the Chinese literati. In the ranks of the higher division there is a great deal of nepotism, and the theory that promotion is entirely by merit is a fiction. When the Reform Bills were passed, equality of opportunity was not attained. The

rewards of the lower division clerks in the Civil Service are insufficient, and until the barrier between the pariahs and the Brahmans is thrown down, and every man irrespective of his education or training is allowed to rise to the very top, if he is able to do so, our permanent Civil Service will fail to give the results we have a right to expect.

The system of pensions given on the reorganisation of offices is a public scandal. An able-bodied pauper is abhorrent to all charitable reformers. That strong men of the upper classes should be pensioned by the State, so long as they are able to work, is an abuse of public trust. Considerable resources now run to waste because retired servants of the State, still in the prime of life, are granted idleness as well as a revenue. Ex-military men, naval men, and civilians also would be happier and better members of society if required to work in the public offices in return for their pensions. Our permanent officials are necessarily our masters under the present system. There is neither sense nor reason in subsidising their idleness.

# CHAPTER XII

## OUR MOST INCAPABLE DEPARTMENT

THE Foreign Office Service should be a miniature of what is best in our nation. It should reflect to foreigners and to the public the frank courtesy, sincerity, determination, continuity of purpose, clear sight, and business ability which are characteristic of the better classes of Englishmen. The Foreign Office should be the friend of the British people: their sentinel, guide, and counsellor. It should know its own mind, and serve the nation by prompt decisions and timely action. To accomplish this task members of the Foreign Office Service require to be carefully picked and trained. If the right material were obtained, British diplomacy would be the best in the world, because it would reflect the best characteristics of the British race. Does the Foreign Office obtain many men of this stamp? Unfortunately not.

It is probably no mere coincidence that the most capable Ambassadors in the Diplomatic Service

are brought in from outside. It is certainly no mere accident that nine-tenths of our foreign affairs are transacted by Consuls whose annual net cost to the country is about £18 per head, while one-tenth of our business, and that not always the most important, is transacted by Foreign Office and Diplomatic officials who cost an average of over £1000 apiece. The sum allotted to the Foreign Office in the Estimates is £74,482 per annum, which added to the £269,500 which the British Diplomatic Service costs, and which is double the cost of the Diplomatic Service of France, makes £343,982. This is the sum our Foreign Office costs us, excluding the Consular Service, which nearly pays its own way by the fees it remits to the Government, and which amounted in 1898–1899 to £75,089. The Consular Service is the despised Cinderella and maid-of-all-work of the Foreign Office. Trade and commerce offend its fine nostrils. Upon the Consuls is thrown all the additional labour which increased facilities of communication have brought into international relations, while such increased facilities have relieved the Diplomatic Service, not only from the greater part of its responsibility, but also from much of its necessity. The Consular Service, in fact, performs all the inevitable work which relations between nations and nations require. Without it

our Commercial Marine could not exist, and the whole commercial business of the nations would be thrown into disorder. The men of the Consular Service are about 1100 in number, the men of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service are about 200. The 1100 men of the Consular Service, taking their contributions to Government into account, cost the country just £18,297 per annum; therefore, the 200 Foreign Office and Diplomatic men cost the country nearly twenty times as much as the despised Consular men who do nearly all the necessary international work of the country.

Nominally the sentinel of the Empire, the Foreign Office, notwithstanding the great ability and devotion to duty of many of the staff, is actually more ignorant of what is about to happen than the City, or even than the general public. Gross neglect of British interests by a Department that is the laughing-stock of Colonists and the contempt of foreigners, is only too common. Avaricious of privilege, busy in idleness, thirsty for undeserved distinctions, the Foreign Office is prodigal of opportunity, purblind to coming events, and hostile to the interests it is paid to protect. Why is this? The reason is plain. So far from being the Imperial Intelligence Department, it is swathed in ignorance and blinded with

self-esteem. Although surviving from the past, it has ceased to exhibit the directing ability characteristic of the old governing families, while it despises the business methods which alone succeed in modern times. No human organisation fails to degenerate that is not constantly inspected by superior authority. The Foreign Office, in spite of its "breeding" and privileges, is cynical, archaic, and often worse than useless. Reform has swept past its doors, and leaves it, a mark for the iconoclast next time the nation has a hot fit for reform. No superior authority marks its follies to correct them. Its late Parliamentary Chief did not know the bulk of his staff even by sight. People speak of War Office red tape. Compared with the Foreign Office, the most stupid Department in the War Office is an effective mechanism of Empire. With vast interests in Asia, the Foreign Office dispenses with an Asiatic Department. No Foreign Office official is trained to understand Asiatic languages or character. With China in a blaze and the Embassy immured in Pekin, the Foreign Office refused to appoint the Acting Consul-General at Shanghai, who understood Chinese, as Chargé d'Affaires. It preferred the innocence of one of its own men, unbiassed with knowledge, devoid of experience, and new to the country! While the interests of the Diplomatic

Service predominate over the interests of the nation, national humiliations like that of the Waima episode are inevitable. They will be repeated.

The extraordinary state of affairs revealed by the admissions of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the funds of the Uganda Railway, recently brought before the taxpayers and voters of the United Kingdom, forces into prominence the subject of the close corporation responsible. Five years ago, when the project for building the Uganda Railway was brought before Parliament and the assent of the House of Commons was obtained to the inception of the Railway, for which three millions of money were voted, the control of the undertaking was placed under Foreign Office management and a Committee, of which a Foreign Office clerk, now Emperor of British East Africa, was chairman. The result has not been satisfactory. The surveys, the cost of materials, of labour, traffic, and stores, have all been miscalculated. The miscalculation admitted by the Foreign Office up to date amounts to a million and three-quarters sterling. The House of Commons was confronted by a dilemma. Either they must write off as a bad debt the three million pounds already spent, or they must call up additional capital from the shareholders of the country (whose responsibility is unlimited). The

latter alternative was chosen. If the Uganda Railway had been built under German, French, Belgian, or even Russian auspices, still more if the scheme had been undertaken as a commercial enterprise worked on business lines, the extra money would have been provided, but the managers would have been dismissed for incompetence. The extra price paid by the British taxpayer for the privilege of having the Uganda Railway presided over by an incompetent section of our most incompetent Department is one million and three-quarters sterling.

It is only a short time since Lord Salisbury wearily complained that, owing to the want of secret service money, he had been unable to provide sentinels to warn the nation that danger was at hand, although it was pointed out in reply that, so far from sufficient secret service money not being provided, considerable unexpended balances from the sum voted by Parliament had been returned to the Treasury. This was not due to Lord Salisbury's fault, for a Prime Minister who was also Secretary of State is too busy for accuracy. Discovered in a gross misstatement of fact, the Foreign Office was not abashed. It is contrary to the traditions of Downing Street to blush, especially when unmasked. Effrontery in error is the mark of bad diplomacy. "Le bon

Dieu pardonnera. C'est son métier," said Heine. Nor is there any reason why failure to perform the obvious and immediate duties for which the Foreign Office is established and maintained (at a cost of £74,482 per annum) should disturb the repose of our permanent officials. This history of our Foreign Office is a chain of blunders and one long record of ignorance. Is there not the historical example of Lord Hammond? On July 15, 1870, a few days after Lord Granville had undertaken the duties of Foreign Minister, with the assurances of the Permanent Under Secretary of the Department that "the world had never been so profoundly at peace or the diplomatic atmosphere more serene," the bloodiest struggle of the century broke out. If Lord Hammond was ignorant with impunity in 1870, Sir Thomas Sanderson and his colleagues may fairly claim a like privilege to-day.

It is a commonplace among statesmen that for the British Empire to be perfectly safe we require three things—a supreme Navy, an adequate Army, and an incomparable diplomacy. We know that the Army is not adequate. There is no reason to believe that our Navy is supreme. The question, therefore, concerns us vitally—Is our diplomacy incomparable? It was the custom of the ancient Assyrians to place at the entrance of their great

buildings gigantic sculptured lions and bulls as guards against evil influences from without. These images were so graven as to reveal muscular strength and power, divine calm, and mysterious immensity. There is mysterious immensity at the portals of our own Foreign Office: perhaps even divine calm, but there the likeness ends. The diplomacy of Great Britain would be in the front rank of the useful sciences if it were only successful. Successful diplomacy is direct and frank, neither seeking to obtain more nor accepting less than is our due. Dexterity, sincerity, and foresight are its chief weapons. Governments may rely more on the supremacy of good diplomacy, when in the hands of a capable man, than on many divisions of troops or squadrons of warships. When diplomacy is defective, the money and the blood of the people is the price to be paid. A good diplomatist is nothing more than what in another walk of life is called a good business man. All business requires diplomatic qualities. Even with moderate intellect, if a diplomatist is industrious, straightforward, and polite, he may accomplish much more than a man of genius. Diplomacy has been compared to the game of billiards. The balls are constantly producing effects from mere chance which moderate players can neither execute nor foresee, but which, when they happen, serve

mainly to teach how much there is to learn. So it is in the most profound and complicated game of diplomacy. In both cases we can only regulate our play by what we have seen rather than by what we have hoped, and by what we have experienced rather than by what we have expected. Foreign Office methods triumph over experience, are in constant rebellion against fact, and if they do not expect water to run uphill it is because movement of any kind is repugnant to our mandarins at the Foreign Office.

The principal reason for the evil odour into which the Foreign Office has fallen with men of affairs, and especially with Colonists, is the direct consequence of entrusting power to a privileged caste, which is neither inspected by authority nor compelled to adopt the ordinary rules of business. Few young men in our Diplomatic Service obtain any chance of distinction. Social privilege is their chief reward. By the time that a diplomat succeeds to a Legation or an Embassy he is generally disappointed and worn out. He becomes a clerk in uniform at the end of a wire, to be rung up by his chiefs in Downing Street.

It is only fair to the able young men who serve the country in the Diplomatic Service to point out that no pensions are given except to Ministers and to those who are incapacitated through ill-

ness. Many men in the Diplomatic Service are sufficiently conscious of their own defects to be desirous of leaving the Service, but having borne the burden and heat of the day in various climates, and their hopes having met with disappointment, they object to be turned out of the Service without the solatium of a pension. The consequence is a congestion of incapacity.

However costly the Diplomatic Service may seem to the British taxpayer and to the ordinary man, the pay of the young diplomat cannot be regarded as otherwise than scanty. Heavy expenses are incurred by all members of the diplomatic profession, for which no provision is made by the country. When ordered from one Embassy or Legation to another in a different part of the world, the heavy expense of furnishing and equipment is often thrown away, in the event of a young diplomatist's successor being unwilling to relieve him of the cost of his settlement. So strongly is this question regarded by many members of the Diplomatic Service, that some of the best men are tempted away into private employment at largely increased salaries.

The blocking of promotion throughout the whole Service by bringing in outsiders is also a source of grievance and natural indignation to the younger and abler members of the Service.

Promotion is systematically blocked. Men who otherwise might reasonably hope to obtain the highest appointments in the profession are left for years in some miserable climate in Central America or elsewhere, with no stimulus to action, leading a sedentary life, and gradually eating out their hearts and losing their ambitions.

No attaché or secretary of Legation can live on his pay. For two years the young diplomatist draws no salary whatever. The choice of candidates, therefore, is restricted, more especially as it is desirable, in the interests of the whole country, that the members of the Diplomatic Service should not only be men of affairs but men of breeding.

In the dearth of first-rate ability among our Ambassadors to-day we see the result. In the ignominious contrast between our diplomacy and that of Germany we may note the effects of our refusal to insist on efficiency as the first condition of employment. In speaking of a privileged caste I am not referring to the aristocracy. The Foreign Office appointments are made entirely from a small circle of candidates whose qualifications for entry into the Diplomatic Service include the nomination of the Secretary of State, the possession of means, the test of an examination, and preferably the employment of a particular

"crammer"; but who need not necessarily be of gentle birth or have inherited gentle manners. Superciliousness bordering on insolence is not unknown in the Foreign Office. The actual process of nomination to diplomatic appointments is practically as follows:—The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gives a nomination. These favoured individuals, coached by the "crammer" above referred to, are entered for an examination, and the successful candidates are supposed to be chosen on the result of this examination. The Foreign Office "Ring," however, occasionally maintains its privileged position by the simple method of refraining from notifying the examination in question to a candidate who is not *persona grata* to the "Ring." The wife of a peer, whose son was a good linguist, had taken honours at Oxford, and whose education in other respects was fully up to the average, writes to me on the subject of the exclusion of her son by the method referred to:—

"I think that a sort of society 'Ring' undoubtedly does exist, and if a person happens not to belong to it they have small chance of entering the professions which are falsely supposed to be open to all. As the members of this 'Ring' are no better morally or intellectually than other people, this narrowing of the selec-

tion is in every way to the disadvantage of the nation."

The nominations to the Consular Service are wholly a matter of favouritism. The Foreign Minister has power to exempt from examination if he pleases. Some of the very best appointments in the Service are thus held by men who must have political influence, but who need not be well-born or highly educated. The present Ambassador at Rome never passed through any examination. It is not contended, of course, that the power of exemption from examination should not be exercised in the case of a distinguished man like Lord Dufferin, for example, but it is both indefensible and contrary to the interests of the nation that the dispensing power should be employed merely for the purpose of requiting political services, or rewarding a social or family claim.

In former years, before the Second Class clerks were called into existence to do the principal work of the Office, the course of business in Downing Street was somewhat as follows:—A letter arriving at the Foreign Office was taken out of the envelope by a clerk of £200 a year, then passed on to be docketed by a clerk of £300, then handed to a clerk of £400 to make a précis

of it, and then passed on to have a minute made on it by a clerk of £800 a year; and so, with a mass of irrelevant detail tacked on to it, it came to the man of £1200 a year, who minuted a draft of the reply; and finally it descended down the same line until it again reached the hands of the man of £300 a year, who copied it, and then it was put into an envelope by the man of £200 a year. Since that time the Second Division clerks have relieved the mandarins of the First Division from clerical drudgery. One of the consequences was the abstraction of the secret Anglo-Russian Agreement, signed on May 30 by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff, and published in the *Globe* on June 14, 1878. This theft of Marvin's was a godsend to the Foreign Office. It enabled the Department to strengthen its armour-plate of privilege and to resist reform, on the plea that it was necessary to have gentlemen in the Foreign Office. The slur on the gentlemen of the Colonial Office across the way is obvious; but the plea, such as it is, has been sufficient to exclude the besom of the reformer until the present day. The theory is, that the men good enough to run the Colonial Office are not good enough to deal with Foreign Affairs. The First Division clerks of the Foreign Office are grand gentlemen. Smoking is allowed at the Foreign Office. Clerks

in the other Departments of State are not allowed to smoke on duty. Cigarettes, accordingly, play a considerable part in the transaction of national business. The hours of office are so chosen that the after-breakfast canter in the Row is not interfered with.

In former years, when an Ambassador was something more than a mere clerk in uniform at the end of a wire, and was really responsible for the system of diplomatic communication with the country to which he was accredited, it was essential that he should be a strong personality, if the wishes, requests, and demands of the British Government were to be conveyed with dignity and success to the Governments of other nations. In the days of the pre-reform era it would not have consorted with the dignity of ex-Ambassadors to become guinea-pigs on shady companies, and although no one seriously blames the aged Sir E. Thornton, late our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in connection with the affairs of the Globe Venture Syndicate, as published in the *Times* and other papers, there is a feeling well-nigh universal, and certainly profound, that it is regrettable, to say the least of it, that men who have served their Queen and country in the greatest positions to which a subject can aspire, should find it necessary, in the autumn of life, to associate

themselves with financial schemes of any kind. The country is to blame. We do not treat our illustrious public servants who have produced great results, and have served their country with distinction, with common justice. On the other hand, we permit men of inferior calibre, and of no clearly established social or intellectual claims, to strangle the business of the nation by monopolising a department of the national service which should be open to the whole Empire. The deterioration in the Diplomatic Service is mainly attributable to two causes.

The first is the extreme rapidity with which negotiations are now conducted, owing to the enormous spread of facilities for communication; and secondly, consequentially, the withdrawal of the greater part of the responsibility which used to rest on the shoulders of our diplomatic representatives. The result of concentrating all direct and immediate responsibility in the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is to increase the tendency to formalism and red tape which engage so much of the energy of the Foreign Office system. There are, of course, able and excellent men, but their presence in the service is an accident. The system itself is not adapted either to secure the best men or to develop them when they are obtained. Such slight modifications as

have been made during the past seventy years have served rather to close the diplomatic profession more absolutely against the public than to reform or improve it; while the necessity for specially trained men has largely diminished, owing to the concentration of power in the hands of the Secretary of State. In the year 1801 a sum of £83,341 was spent on the Diplomatic Service. In 1899 the expenditure amounts to £269,500. The larger portion of this money is wasted. Anyone who has been behind the scenes at the British Embassies at the various capitals in Europe is aware that many of the duties entrusted to the attachés and secretaries are such as would be as well or better done by ordinary clerks.

The bulk of British interests abroad no longer deal with matters of high policy but with trade. Trading and traders are repugnant to the privileged caste; and trade questions, which are the important ones, are largely relegated to the Consular officials. This delegation of labour leaves the younger diplomats with a good deal of time on their hands. The average amount of labour imposed upon the Foreign Office officials attached to the Embassies and Legations is trifling. In the opinion of one authority it certainly does not exceed an hour a day. The Department is, therefore, overmanned,

so far as the actual work of the country is concerned, while it is undermanned in the higher ranks as regards ability and efficiency. The diplomatic cats are more numerous than the mice they are set to catch.

The proof that the Diplomatic Service does not develop the sort of ability required by the Secretary of State is shown by the fact that half a dozen of the best posts are at present occupied by men who have not been brought up in the diplomatic profession. This is the American system. The Foreign Office clerks naturally resent the introduction of fresh blood from without, and their influence in the Press is largely employed to prevent the extension of the system. When the late Sir William White was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople, a diplomatic dead-set was made at the poor man and his wife. His only recommendation was that he was the best man for the post. The most terrible things were said of him, but he worked well for his country at a critical time, and was presumably chosen for the post because none of the professionals were equal to the task. Diplomacy, like poetry, is either born in a man or it is not. If a man is a fool or conceited, he cannot be a good diplomat. In every walk of life tact, a pleasant manner, and the art of putting things well,

conduce to popularity and successful negotiation. These qualities are personal attributes, and no training can produce them. To maintain a number of idle young men in foreign countries (however estimable or charming they may be personally) is not the best method of cultivating a crop of diplomatists, and no amendment is possible that does not include such a reorganisation of duties as to require continued application to duty on the part of the diplomat. The French system was remodelled in 1894, and, with the increased demand for efficiency throughout the public service which is now required, the remodelling of the English system of diplomacy will be found at least as necessary as the reformation of the Cavalry or the cleansing of the War Office. The principal alterations required are the amalgamation of the Foreign Office, the Diplomatic Service, and the Consular system, so as to permit members of all ranks of the service being employed indiscriminately at home or abroad. Second, the employment of subordinate officials to whom is entrusted the routine and mechanical work of the "chanceries," and who from being practically permanent officials should be valuable for their knowledge of precedents and for their familiarity with the habits and language of the country. Thirdly, the abolition of all restrictions preventing all com-

petent white subjects of the Queen from entering the Foreign Office. Fourthly, the formation of an Asiatic Department on the Russian model, whereby Asiatic languages, habits of thought, and history may be imparted to the men responsible for Asiatic diplomacy. Consider Foreign Office methods of dealing with China, Persia, and Siam during the last twenty years, and is there any wonder that British interests in Asia have steadily retrograded? If these changes were made, a considerable saving would be effected, while a larger sum of efficiency would be available for the service of the State.

It is always well to know what the German practice is as compared with our own. It is needless to say that the German diplomatic profession is both more practical and more efficient than ours. The numbers are fewer. No candidate is allowed to present himself before the age of twenty-five. He serves for two years at home and one abroad before entering for the diplomatic examination, and a final oral examination takes place before the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The services of German diplomatists are available either at home or abroad. Permanent officials are employed at the various Embassies, who do the work entrusted to secretaries and attachés in the English service. In

order to secure efficiency there is no list of members of the service arranged according to their seniority. Secretaries of Embassies in the German service have no relative rank with regard to one another, although their substantive rank is that of their place in the profession.

It is scarcely necessary to set forth the peculiarities and special features of the Russian, Italian, or Austro-Hungarian diplomatic services. There is little to be learned from them except that the Legations in the minor posts of the Russian service undertake the Consular duties of the place. The American system, or want of system, seems to be based on the principle that any man is suitable for a diplomatist, if he can obtain the appointment and has the necessary means. American diplomatic representatives are miserably underpaid. Appointments are made by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is supposed that all diplomatic officers should be in full accord with the Party in power. In practice, however, secretaries of Embassy continue in office throughout successive administrations, and by this means some continuity of local knowledge is maintained.

One of the minor defects of our present Foreign Office system is the lavish manner in which honours

are bestowed on Foreign Office and Diplomatic officials. Almost everyone is beknighted, and no one can eventually avoid knighthood. Even the senior clerks in the Foreign Office obtain K.C.M.G.s. and C.B.s. as a matter of course, and are thus invested with importance out of all proportion to the service they render to the State. No other branch of the service is treated in this lavish way. That special service to the State should be highly rewarded is the desire of everyone, but there is no general wish to associate demerit and ignorance with the Order of the Bath. What have our diplomatists done that they should be more highly favoured than other servants of the public? The Waima affair is not yet settled after seven years—entirely owing to Foreign Office indolence. One of the most deplorable exhibitions of incapacity that even our diplomatic history can show is the neglect of the British Government to secure the ratification of the Treaty with Portugal concluded by Sir Robert Morier in 1879. That Treaty gave this country free transit for goods from Lorenzo Marques to the Transvaal, military control of the railway, and free passage across Portuguese territory of troops and munitions of war. What difference such a Treaty would have made in the present war need not be pointed out to any man with eyes in his head. But it is highly probable that it would have prevented

the war altogether, by destroying for ever an essential factor in the development of Mr. Kruger's policy. England has had to cringe before Germany and accept silently the lash of the German whip across the face because the *Bundesrath* and the *Herzog* were searched on false information. The guarantees of Great Britain under Treaties with China, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg for the neutrality of Switzerland, with the King of Sweden and Norway for the immunity of his territories, for the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, for the independence of Greece, for the Ottoman possessions in Asia, for the independence of the Sultan of Muscat, for the integrity and independence of Persia, for the independence and protection of Portugal, are all in the hands of the Foreign Office clerks. It is impossible that the Prime Minister can concern himself with the details of these stupendous obligations. It is high time that the people awoke to the fact that their Foreign Affairs are in feeble and incompetent hands and managed under an impossible system. It is time that judicious, drastic, and wholesome change were made in a system which protects the interests and nourishes the ambitions of a few incompetents, to the peril of the Empire. There is no reason why these changes should not be carried out by men who are also gentlemen. Still, if the necessity

arises, it is better that our Foreign Office should be manned by efficient people who eat peas with their knives than continue to have at its head a privileged caste who neither understand nor perform the duties entrusted to them.

And finally, the "F.O. manner" towards the outside world is not attractive, courteous, or business-like. A Buddhist recluse, a New York Irish policeman, and a Russian *Tchinovnik*, morose from yesterday's debauch and conscious of power, are perhaps more repellent in their manner than the officials of the Foreign Office. Still, Downing Street has not yet learned that which Winchester undertakes to teach: "Manners makyth man."

## A.—Note to Chapter XII

I am unable to discover that any radical modification of the system in vogue at the Foreign Office has been instituted since 1883. On February 26 of that year the following memorandum was published. It will be seen from this that the Department responsible for Haiti also takes care of China. This may account for the fact that British interests in China are in as much confusion as in Haiti:—

"THE FOREIGN OFFICE

"*February 26*, 1883.

"Some important changes have been made in the organisation of the Departments in the Foreign Office. The Office, which has hitherto been divided into ten Departments, will in future have only eight. Instead of there being the Chief Clerk's Department, the French, the Commercial, the German, the Turkish, the American, the Consular, the Librarian's, and the Treaty Departments, there will be the Chief Clerk's, the Western European, the Commercial and Sanitary, the Consular and African (East and West), the American and Asiatic, the Eastern European Department. All diplomatic matters connected with Austria, Germany, Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Madagascar, Morocco, Tunis, Bavaria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, Wurtemburg, and Switzerland will be dealt with. In the Eastern European Department will be grouped Greece, Montenegro, Roumania, Servia, Russia, Turkey, Egypt, Central Asia, and Persia. In the American and Asiatic Department will be the United States, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Central America, Chili, China, Colombia, Equator, Hayti, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Siam, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The old Slave Trade Department, which dealt with slavery and sanitary questions, has been abolished, and the slave trade questions have been placed under the Consular and African (East and

West) Department, while the sanitary questions have been relegated to the Commercial Department. The nature of the business dealt with in the Treaties Department will be the same as formerly, with the addition that questions of doubtful nationality, extradition, naturalisation, and copyright will in future be treated of there. In the Chief Clerk's Department all matters are dealt with regarding diplomatic appointments, consular commissions, exequaturs, Foreign Ministers' privileges, messengers, issue of passports, Cabinet Keys, estimates, issue of salaries, diplomatic pensions, establishment questions, and examinations and control of accounts. The head of this Department is Mr. F. B. Alston; of the Western Europe Department, Mr. T. G. Stanley; of the Commercial and Sanitary, Mr. C. M. Kennedy, C.B.; of the Consular and African, Mr. H. P. Anderson; of the American and Asiatic, Mr. S. C. C. Jervoise; of the Eastern European, the Hon. F. L. Bertie; of the Librarian's, Sir Edward Hertslet, C.B.; and of the Treaties Department, Mr. T. H. G. Bergne."

I append the following statement of facts on the Waima affair in the form of a letter to Mr. Chamberlain which is admittedly accurate. Up to the end of December 1900 no settlement had been arrived at with the Government of the French Republic, a circumstance due wholly to the initial neglect of the Foreign Office in 1893, 1894, or 1895. No greater Departmental scandal than the

neglect of the Waima affair, and the erroneous statements of fact placed in the mouths of successive Under Secretaries, has occurred in our time.

## B.—Note to Chapter XII

(Copy.) "WAIMA

"*April* 1, 1898.

"Sir,—I have the honour to state that on the 7th of April last I addressed, to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a letter in which I set forth the case of the widows and orphans of British officers killed by the French at Waima on the 23rd of December 1893. As no acknowledgment of this communication has yet reached me, I venture respectfully to submit to you, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, certain facts in connection with the incident in question, with the view of inducing Her Majesty's Government to extend their favourable consideration to the relatives of the officers referred to.

"The case for special compensation of the widows and their families rests entirely on questions of fact. As certain statements of mine on the subject have been authoritatively but erroneously denied by the representative of the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, it is desirable concisely to review the main features of the incident, as set forth in official documents accessible to the public.

"According to a despatch dated December 25, 1893, from the late Colonel A. B. Ellis, commanding the troops on the West Coast of Africa, the

following statement of facts appears to be beyond dispute:—

"On 23rd December 1893, at Waima, Konno Country, Sierra Leone, Lieutenant Maritz, of the French Army, attacked a British force under the command of Colonel A. B. Ellis (1st West Indian Regiment). The French killed Lieutenant R. E. Liston, Second Lieutenant Wroughton, one sergeant-major, and four privates, and severely wounded fifteen non-commissioned officers and men. Captain Lendy, D.S.O., who was serving with the Frontier Police, and two men of that force were also killed, and two were wounded. On 27th November, before leaving Freetown, Colonel Ellis received a confidential telegram from the Adjutant-General to the Forces, warning him not to approach too near to places where French troops were stationed. It was not desirable to run the risk of coming into collision with them. The injunction was carefully obeyed by Colonel Ellis. He despatched in duplicate a letter to the French Commandant in Kissi or in Sankara, informing him of the approach of a British force.

"Lieutenant Maritz was not the Commandant of any French post. According to the despatch from Colonel Ellis to the Secretary of State for War, dated Christmas Day 1893, Lieutenant Maritz had been engaged for some time 'in travelling with his party of soldiers within the sphere of British influence.' So far as can be ascertained, neither

Colonel Ellis nor any member of the British force had any doubt as to Waima being British territory. Such doubts as existed were of subsequent origin, and, so far as I can discover, exclusively confined to members of the late Government and their subordinates in England. After describing the means taken by him to determine its position, Colonel Ellis writes to the British Government, two days after the fight, as follows: 'That Waima is well within the sphere of British influence is, I think, beyond question.' The accuracy of Colonel Ellis's determination of the position of Waima was confirmed by Major Grant after a delay of two years. It is clear from this citation of Colonel Ellis's views and actions that the commander of the expedition was in no doubt whatever as to Waima being on British territory. There is, moreover, collateral evidence of Lieutenant Maritz' visit to a place called Tekwyana, far within the sphere of British influence, immediately before the fight. On the 18th of December, five days before the conflict took place, three envelopes addressed to Lieutenant Maritz, two at 'Haut Niger' and one at 'Enkissi,' were picked up on the path between the rivers of Tekwyana and those of Sengekor. These envelopes were in the possession of Colonel Ellis on the day when he wrote his despatch of the 25th of December 1893. His unfortunate death at Teneriffe, shortly after the engagement, has made it impossible to do more than cite his evidence as proof that no doubt existed on the British side as

to the validity of their own position, and of the trespass committed by the French.

"Further evidence exists, however, as to the absence of any doubt on the English side as to the position of Waima. The papers and correspondence of the late Captain Lendy, D.S.O., one of the officers who lost his life at Waima, are now in the possession of his mother, Mrs. Lendy, Riverside House, Sunbury-on-Thames. These papers prove that the continued encroachments of the French into our territory not only led to the unfortunate encounter at Waima, but the fact of the trespass was commented upon by Captain Lendy in letters sent home prior to the unfortunate catastrophe. The following is a passage from one of his letters on the subject:—

"'I am off to the bush to-morrow' (he wrote hastily). 'I am going up to Kuranko, and shall put police posts to within seven miles of the Niger. Hope we shall have an expedition. I have a nasty job before me, as rains are not over. My journey may give rise to some steps being taken, as the French are trying to grab our territory, and have the intention of doing what I am about to do. I hope to be in time. The French also wish to fight the Sofas, and so claim more land "by right of conquest." I am now going to work to the back of the Sofas, and place posts so that the French may not come farther. In dry season troops can go up and drive the Sofas, if necessary. It is a difficult and dangerous mission.'

"As the official defence of the French action at Waima has hitherto rested mainly on the assumption that the position of Waima was a matter of doubt, no less to the English officers engaged than to the French, I venture to point out that not a tittle of evidence is forthcoming in support of this allegation. On the contrary, the whole of the evidence available shows that Colonel Ellis's statement to Her Majesty's Government, to the effect 'that Waima is well within the sphere of British influence is, I think, beyond question,' was shared by the officers under his command. Under these circumstances, the reply of Mr. Curzon to Sir Charles Dilke's question in the House of Commons on the 18th of March last, if it be accurate, is not only not sustained by any evidence to which I have had access, but rests on evidence that has not been divulged. Mr. Curzon said that 'the considerations which led Her Majesty's Government to this conclusion are the facts that, whatever the subsequent geographical determination of Waima, its locality at the time of the incident was *equally unknown to both the French and the British parties*; that the French also lost an officer and several men, and that the question has ever since, with the consent of both parties, been included among more general negotiations' (*Times*, March 19, 1898). If, however, there were any doubt, which I dispute, as to the fact that the position of Waima being well within the British boundary was known to the British expedition, such doubt was removed by

the authoritative delimitation of the territory in question by Major Grant. At the present time, the fact that the conflict took place on British soil is not controverted, while such doubts as were subsequently raised in England as to the position of Waima cannot fairly be alleged to have been shared by Colonel Ellis and his officers.

"The logical inference from these facts is that the French Government is responsible to the British nation for the actions of Lieutenant Maritz. But it is said that the whole affair having arisen out of a mistake, it is impossible to treat the matter in a litigious and hostile spirit, as would be justifiable only if the attack of Lieutenant Maritz had proceeded from malevolence or design. A moment's examination of this contention will show the fallacy it contains. The British officers and men killed by the French were killed, as everyone admits, by accident, carelessness, or mistake on the part of the French officer. The plea of accident, however, whether as regards private or international affairs, is no bar against such redress as may be found equitable under the circumstances. No railway company would be allowed to plead accident or mistake, if loss of life occurs through the negligence of a pointsman or the recklessness of an engine-driver. The British Government has not entered any such plea in respect to the claims of the French Fathers at Uganda. The French, therefore, are liable for damages in respect of the Waima affair.

"There may, however, be reasons of State which prevent the British Government from prosecuting their titular rights to indemnity and apology. With this branch of the subject I do not presume to deal. It may well be imagined that information is in the possession of Her Majesty's Government which renders it advisable to treat the Waima affair as one of a series of events that must be settled *en bloc*. It is true that the payment of £10,000 to France by the British Government, in respect to the claims of certain French Fathers at Uganda, makes it difficult for a private citizen to understand why the French Uganda claims are settled without demur, while British claims, the justice of which rests upon impregnable and unchallenged evidence, are repudiated by the French Government as far back as September 14, 1895.

"From documents in my possession I am able to state that in 1895 the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, then Her Majesty's Ambassador to the French Republic, was not acquainted with the strength of the British case; and that, before seeing the French Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject, His Excellency's mind was charged with the theory, that the fact of some French soldiers and officers being killed at Waima exonerated the French Government from responsibility in reference to the claims of the relatives of the British slain. In order that there may be no doubt whatever upon this point, I quote from a letter in my possession, written by His Excellency

on August 28, 1895, and addressed to Mrs. Liston, the widow of Lieutenant Liston: 'In the unfortunate affair of Waima some French soldiers and officers were killed, and the French may urge that unless the English Government takes into consideration the claims of the French widows and children, it cannot entertain any corresponding claims on the part of English sufferers such as yourself. I submit this consideration to your notice, in order that you may not entertain any unreasonable expectation in regard to the results of the efforts I propose to make on your behalf.' It is not surprising that when His Excellency the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava spoke to the French Foreign Minister on the subject of the Waima affair, the French and English statesmen found themselves of one mind. The Marquis of Dufferin, writing to Mrs. Liston under the date of September 14, 1895, says: 'I have taken an opportunity of speaking to the French Foreign Minister about your petition, but, as I was certain would be the case, he said that as they had made no claim on behalf of the widows and children of their officers, they could not entertain any claim on behalf of ours.'

"I respectfully submit that if the British Ambassador had been properly instructed on the facts of the case, or even supplied with a copy of Colonel Ellis's despatch of the 25th December 1893, and still more if the evidence supplied by the late Captain Lendy's papers and correspondence had

been procured by the Foreign Office and supplied to the Paris Embassy, it would have been impossible that such a needless and premature surrender of the British case could have been made, before the official delimitation by Major Grant had finally determined the actual position of Waima. Since, however, Her Majesty's late Government relinquished in 1894–95 any idea of pressing the French for the indemnity justly due to the families of the slain, and left to their successors the responsibility of reviving the claim, their action in that respect cannot be held as jeopardising or diminishing the claims of the families concerned. As all of them are ladies, ignorant of the strength of their case, and inexperienced in dealing with Government Departments, they have been too hasty in accepting the statements made to them by the permanent officials of the War Department as to their position in the matter. The three families for whom I am concerned are those of Mrs. Lendy, Mrs. Liston, and Mrs. Wroughton.

"With regard to Mrs. Lendy, the following facts set forth her position:—Mrs. Lendy lost both her sons in the service of the State. One died on active service near Buluwayo; the other, a member of the Distinguished Service Order, was not killed in action, but shot down at Waima. On the 31st of May 1894, the War Office wrote to Mrs. Lendy as though she were the mother of an officer killed in action, and on the 22nd of May in the same year this lady was refused a pension, on the

ground that she was not mainly dependent for support upon her son. Since Captain Lendy was not killed in action, but was the victim of the mistake of a reckless French officer, I respectfully submit to your consideration whether Mrs. Lendy's claim for an indemnity in respect of the brilliant and unfulfilled career of her son being absolute as against the French Government, is not equally absolute as against the British Government. If, for reasons of State, the latter refrain from pressing the claims of British subjects slain by accredited officers of the French Republic, Mrs. Lendy's claim is neither destroyed nor impaired.

"With regard to Mrs. Liston, her case is more pressing, but not more important, than that of the other ladies concerned. She is a widow with three children. She has been awarded a pension of £125 a year, on the theory that her husband was killed in action. He was not killed in action. Lieutenant Liston, in the ordinary course of events, would to-day have been a Major. He was a man of considerable parts, and, I understand, was looked upon as a promising officer by his superiors. An indemnity, therefore, not only in respect of the rank he held at the time of his death, but that which he might reasonably have expected to attain, is the only satisfaction of an equitable settlement of Mrs. Liston's claims. Had her husband died in defence of his country, and fighting for his Queen, however narrow the circumstances

in which his children might have found themselves, they would always have been able to look back upon their father's death as the most glorious by which a British subject can end his life. No such privilege is theirs. I ask on their behalf, and that of the widow, that Lieutenant Liston's family may be compensated as though he had died in a railway accident.

"With regard to Mrs. Wroughton, I may state that she has been refused compensation, as in the case of Mrs. Lendy, but on the ground that she is in receipt of a pension from the India Office. Lieutenant Chardine Wroughton was the only son of his mother, and she is a widow. The injury inflicted upon Miss Wroughton, who earns her living as a typewriter, by the death of her brother, is one upon which I need not enlarge. It is a real injury, and as such should be indemnified by the British Government, in default of action on their part for the recovery of redress from France. Mrs. Wroughton, furthermore, received the following letter from Lord Rosebery. It is written on Foreign Office paper, and is not marked private:—'*February* 12, 1894.—I cannot but be deeply moved by your letter, and, little as it may seem, I beg to offer you the profound sympathy that I have felt for the relatives of those who fell in the deplorable affair at Waima, ever since I heard of it. But sympathy is intensified by what you tell me, for I did not know how utterly bereaved you have been. You may

be sure, however, that no one is more impressed by that catastrophe than I, and none more determined that it shall be probed and examined to the uttermost.' Everything has been probed but the pocket of the French Republic. Mrs. Wroughton has naturally construed Lord Rosebery's letter as containing an official promise that something should be done. Nothing has been done. The expressions of barren sympathy of which she was the recipient from the late Government need no comment.

"As it is now the fifth year since the occurrence of the Waima affair, I venture respectfully to express the hope that Her Majesty's Government will take into their favourable consideration the case of the widows, orphans, and other relatives of the British slain.—I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"ARNOLD WHITE.

"The Right Honourable JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.,
"Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies."

The answer received to the above was as follows:—

"COLONIAL OFFICE,
"*April* 21, 1898.

"DEAR MR. WHITE,—Mr. Chamberlain desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of even date, urging that compensation should be given to the widows, orphans, and other relatives

of the British officers who were killed by the French at Waima on the 23rd December 1893, and to say that the matter is receiving consideration at the hands of Her Majesty's Government.—I am, yours very truly,

"AMPTHILL."

At the time of going to press, February 1901, the Waima affair is still unsettled, the case having been referred to an arbitrator of Belgian nationality. Belgium is a country saturated with Anglophobia. The grant of £10,000 to the French Fathers who lost their clothes and furniture at Uganda was not made the subject of arbitration, but the cash was paid by England to Cardinal Vaughan on behalf of the French Government. The Irish and Roman Catholic influence brought to bear upon the Government in the case of the Uganda affair accounts for the difference of treatment between the Waima and Uganda incidents. When British lives are lost on British territory by French magazine rifles, in the hands of French regular troops, the matter goes to arbitration, after seven years; but when a few French priests lose their goods and chattels, England pays up without demur.

# CHAPTER XIII

## THE CONSULAR SERVICE

NOMINATIONS for the Consular Service are wholly a matter of favouritism, and the Foreign Minister has power to exempt from examination whenever he pleases. In the case of a non-favoured person whom he has been obliged to nominate, a political supplementary examination is always insisted on. On examining the Foreign Office List it will be seen that a large proportion of Acting-Consular officers have passed through no examination. Some of the very best appointments in the service, including those of Consul-General, are held by men who have passed through no examination.

As stated in the chapter on the Foreign Office, the Consuls really perform the main bulk of the necessary international work between nations and nations without which the world's business could not go on. Ambassadors are chiefly creatures of luxury and convention. In Consular appointments relationship to a Parliamentary Agent or connection with some political magnate who served the

Government were sufficient to supersede all other claims, although the favoured individual may have had no claims at all. On one occasion an impecunious foreigner was appointed to a most desirable post because he was a relative of a Parliamentary Agent.

The system of appointing Consuls and settling their emoluments is indefensible. England, as a commercial country, really treats her Consuls, who are the agents and protectors of her commerce, worse than various other nations treat their Consuls, and much worse than England treats her diplomats.

In the Consular Service the Foreign Secretary names a single man for a special vacant post. He does this on account of the special interest he feels in a certain candidate (on account of electioneering supporters or private relations), or because the candidate is backed up by political supporters or men of political and general influence, who may have good and may have bad reasons for pressing a candidate on the Foreign Secretary's notice. If the Foreign Secretary names such an individual for a Consular appointment, it is then in his option to insist on an examination of such candidate if he pleases. If we look at the first nine Consuls in the Consular List, only three passed through the examination. The Consul at Naples, for example, has one of the best appointments in the Consular

Service, and he was named and appointed Consul without any examination or any previous service. Mr. Roberts, of Barcelona, who has one of our best Consulates, also passed without examination, and a perusal of the Foreign Office List will show numbers of others.

Many candidates contrive to get into the Consular Service by going abroad and getting engaged in Foreign Consulates as clerks. Then they get made Acting Consuls during the absence or leave of the Consul. Sometimes by interest, a death, or by the change of superintending Consuls, they get made Consuls.

The whole Service wants reorganising and putting on sound lines. The Consuls really do the bulk of the necessary international work of the country, and the Consular body, amounting in all to 1100 individuals, cost the country some £18,000 a year, while the Diplomatic, who are quite unproductive, and who number 160, cost the country some £269,000.

The yearly cost of the Foreign Office Service is worked out thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Diplomatic Service . . . . . | £269,500 |
| Foreign Office . . . . . | 74,482 |
| | £343,982 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Whole Foreign Office Service . . . | £437,318 |
| Deduct Diplomatic Service and Foreign Office | 343,982 |
| For Consular Service . . . . . | £93,336 |

But of this £93,436 the Consuls provided by fees £75,039 in 1898–99, therefore the whole cost of the Consular Service to the country was £93,436, minus £75,039, which equals £18,397. But the whole Diplomatic Service contains only about 160 members, while the Consular Service, including Vice-Consuls, contains about 1100. Therefore the average cost of Diplomatic, equals £1681 each per year; average cost of Consular Office equals £18, 10s. each per year.

A brief summary of the duties of Consuls will show that the office is no sinecure and that the successful and efficient performance of the work calls for the display of business ability and tact which will alone ensure for England the respect and consideration of other countries. Consuls are maintained by the State in foreign countries, for the protection of its trade and vindication of the rights of its merchants. They are also required to keep the Home Government informed of all facts bearing on the commercial interests of the country. An English Consul should be conversant with the laws and general principles which relate to the trade of Great Britain with foreign parts, and with the language and municipal laws of the country wherein he resides. Further, it is his duty to protect his countrymen in the

lawful exercise of their trade, to quiet their differences, to obtain the redress of injuries done to them—failing which, to report the matter to the English Ambassador at the capital of the country—and to forward to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs an annual return of the trade carried on at the different ports within his Consulate, as well as a quarterly account of the market prices of agricultural produce during each week of the quarter, the course of exchange, etc. The Consul must afford relief to British seamen or other subjects wrecked on the coast, and endeavour to procure them the means of returning to England. The commanders of British warships touching on the coast are entitled to call on him for intelligence, and aid in procuring supplies of water, provisions, and the like; and it is his duty to endeavour to recover all wrecks and stores of Queen's ships, whether found at sea and brought into the port at which he resides, or thrown on the coast. A Consul can perform all the acts of a notary-public, all deeds executed by him being acknowledged as valid by our courts of law. The conscientious fulfilment of all these duties, many of which are arduous and have to be done in a trying climate, is no easy matter, and cannot be performed in a haphazard or careless manner. These duties involve attention to detail, and it is

careful attention to detail that makes perfection. Consuls are divided into Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and Consular Agents. Those men in the lower branches of the service should be permitted to know that their advancement depends entirely on the ability which they may show in their particular work and on their steadiness and good conduct. In the United States, literary and scientific men are frequently appointed to important Consulships abroad, Hawthorne and Bret Harte having, for example, been Consuls in Britain. In the British service the names of Charles Lever, William Stigand, Gifford Palgrave, and Sir Richard Burton are modern examples of such appointments.

Consulships, as is well known, are much sought after, and largely filled by Jews. The tenure of office, although unpaid or remunerated with a pittance, carries with it a certain amount of social distinction, which is, after money, the one thing most eagerly sought after by many of the Children of Israel. Great Britain was recently represented at Frankfort, Vienna, and Berlin by foreign Jews, who were paid wholly inadequate salaries for the duties they had to perform. While on this subject, it may be said that little good will be done in the extension of British trade while so many of the Consulates are filled by foreigners. It is tolerably

certain that when Parliament accepts this view, and insists on the Consulates being filled by men of British birth, the number of Jews displaced from office will be sufficient to raise the cry that their supersession is the result, not of necessary trade policy, but of anti-Semitism—a charge that will be wholly without foundation. Jews make excellent Consuls when their interests and patriotism are engaged.

Another disadvantage, perhaps largely due to our copious resort to the use of foreigners as Consuls, is Consular neglect of little traders and Consular toadyism towards big men. Thus many of the aliens who are appointed as English Consuls will go out of their way to serve a correspondent of an influential newspaper, in the hope of getting a "puff," while they turn a deaf ear to the requirements of the small commercial man, although the latter may have important information to impart. But where our shortcomings are most clearly seen, is in comparing the class of men we employ with those employed by our great rivals, the Americans and Germans. The English Consuls in Berlin and Vienna are wealthy amateurs ; the German Consuls in London and Manchester are men academically trained in the science of national economics, and are versed in every detail connected with the commercial life of the nation to which they are

accredited. Although Germany is a parvenu State, these gentlemen are imbued with the same patriotic spirit that was commented on by Colonel Stoffel in his memorable letters to the French War Office in the year 1869. They watch their national interests zealously. Once upon a time this was a marked characteristic of English officials abroad. This was before England was so largely represented by foreigners, who are often unpaid, and while toadying capitalists neglect the poor men whose interests are not invariably identical with those of Dives.

Consuls and diplomatists, in the first place, and before everything else, should be taught to tell the truth and practise straightforwardness. Hitherto, our Foreign Office has deceived the British taxpayer whom it ought to protect, and told the truth to rivals and enemies whom it ought to deceive. That art, which is called by some finesse, and by others diplomacy, has been used by the Foreign Office against their own countrymen. Bismarck showed that simplicity was more useful than astuteness, and that words are more usefully employed when they accurately express the thoughts of a speaker or writer, than when they are used for purposes of dissimulation.

One defect which runs through the whole of the Civil Service, namely, the absence of means for

dealing with inefficiency, which falls short of positive misconduct, also permeates the Consular Service. One of the greatest advantages enjoyed by private employers is that of dispensing with service that has become worthless. The State enjoys a superfluity of worthless service, more especially in connection with the Foreign Office Department. What is wanted is more rigorous inspection. The best Consuls welcome it; the worst strenuously resist it. Periodic and frequent inspection is necessary to keep all official organisations up to the mark. A strong sense of responsibility cannot be maintained otherwise. No censure of action or conduct should be attempted which is not well-founded and carefully thought out. Both the Diplomatic and Consular Service should be taught to understand that their daily doings are carefully watched, and that while no interference with detail will hamper their action, dereliction of duty will be visited by prompt and stern measures of discipline. The lowest Consular Agent should be taught that he may rise to the top of the diplomatic tree. Appreciation of ability and the provision of opportunity to rise are essential features in successful administration. England in her foreign business continues to employ agents who repeatedly fail in achievement. Disaster is the inevitable result.

The following is a statement (taken from the

Foreign Office List) of the foreigners in the Consular Service:—

| | Foreigners. | | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Consuls-General. . . . . | 9 | out of | 48 |
| Consuls (Salaried) . . . . | 13 | ,, | 131 |
| Consuls (Unsalaried) . . . . | 19 | ,, | 43 |
| Vice-Consuls (Salaried) . . . | 15 | ,, | 98 |
| Vice-Consuls (Unsalaried) . . . | 207 | ,, | 459 |
| Consular Agents. . . . . | 29 | ,, | 49 |

I also append a list of some of the names of the unsalaried Vice-Consuls, showing the extent to which the British Empire is dependent upon aliens who are presumably affected by the Anglophobia of their respective countries for the transaction of Imperial business abroad:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tavares | Bisani | Keun |
| Bredenberg | Reinhardt | Studart |
| Perez | Kallevig | Ponzone |
| Diaz | Gomes | Matas |
| Westenberg | Hunot | Steinacker |
| Calocherino | Enhorning | Thiis |
| Franco | Christiansen | Ganslandt |
| Dimos | Bendixen | Tamponi |
| Palander | Lelièvre | Espitalier |
| Mufiiz | Naftel | Fugl |
| Sommerschield | Breslau | Lundgren |
| Armeni | Tomassini | Galea |
| Briglia | Becker | Schenck |
| Santos | Glas | Parelius |
| Vitali | Verderame | Behncke |
| Douëk | Tavares | Leonardi |
| Jortin | Catoni | Schmidt |
| Soucanton | Desposito | Capety |
| Schmidt | Trifilli | Fauquier |
| Del Rio | Robilliard | Keun |

Giglio
Marino
Pereira
Consiglio
Dahl
Sundt
Neess
Felice
Trifiletti
Pietsch
Eliopulo
Aparicio
Akermand
Rasmussen
Missir
Jacobsen
Padinha
Pecchioli
Fontein
Schilthuis
Wolff
Söderbergh
Jeffes
Lietke
Korsman
Costa
Ravander
Leondaritti
Berner
Castro
Hollesen
Andorsen
Joergensen
Wacongne
Wingren
Podeus
Freitas
Romaguera
Larrea
Wallberg
Roig
Puntervold

Weidner
Bülow
Burchardt
Van Neck
Abela
Schjolberg
Cassinis
Torras
Gautray
Bergh
Tonietti
Toro
Westerberg
Calzado
Placci
Bucht
Pernis
Rosenlew
Klöcker
Monefeldt
Hahn
Yanes
Finne
Vogt
Kessler
Wolffsohn
Cricelli
Muus
Öhngren
Alexachi
Hansen
Lucan
Rizat
Kolster
Pieroni
Pieroni
Höckert
Niessen
Hedengren
Giaver
Cerda
Kraunsoe

Bolinder
Cafarelli
Bresmes
Ivens
Audap
De Garston
Myhre
Michovsky
Reichlin
Urioste
Leão
Haag
Borg
Joannidis
Fleischmann
Creel
Bustamante
Serpa
Guardiola
Berentsen
Charlesson
Hayemal
Bruns
Funch
Klein
Nielsen
Bathen
Wahlberg
Holmboe
Van der Goot
Sveaas
Micklasiewitz
Johannsen
Schoedelin
Renck
Amador
Nathan
Kjeldsberg
Wikestrom
Christenson
Keogh
Abrahams

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bodecker | Flensburg | Schimmel |
| Fernandez | Roden | Schele |
| Van Dyk | Krogius | Ladenburg |
| Quintana | Grech | Siricius |
| Devaux | Dussi | Ohlerich |
| Falck | Helander | Reygersberg |
| Schwarz | Ceccarelli | Schembri |
| Escudero | Canepa | Abela |

I close this chapter by stating our most recent experience of the effects of the union between unpaid Vice-Consuls and Foreign Office inefficiency.

One Hodgkinson, an unpaid Vice-Consul, was taken into custody on the 5th of November 1900 for having in his possession, without lawful excuse, a Government code-book for foreign telegrams. This code-book contained secret instructions as to how to communicate with the British Admiral in the event of the outbreak of war. It will be scarcely credited that when this Vice-Consul was dismissed, the Foreign Office official responsible for taking over Government property never asked Hodgkinson to surrender the Government code-book. He "didn't think it necessary to do so." This fact was sworn to by the witness Gurney at the Old Bailey Sessions on November 5, in reply to questions put by me as Chairman of the Grand Jury.

And yet we are told that inspection of the Foreign Office system is out of the question "on public grounds"!

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE TREASURY

"I say that the exercise of its powers in governing other Departments of the Government is not for the public benefit."—LORD SALISBURY, *January* 30, 1900.

THE British Constitution suffers from fatty degeneration. This is shown in all the administrative Departments. Chief among these is the Treasury. Inefficient in itself, despite the intellectual capacity of many of its clerks, it is the cause of inefficiency in others. The Treasury clerk may use the language of Joseph to his brethren: "Behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo, my sheaf arose and also stood upright; and behold, your sheaves stood around and made obeisance to my sheaf." The Treasury governs every Department of the Government. It claims a voice in all decisions both of administration and of policy. Cabinet Ministers, nominally supreme in their Departments, are impotent unless they can ensure the support of the

Treasury. Its powers have increased, and are increasing, until Parliament itself in certain directions is impotent. In the old days the Lord High Treasurer had the custody of the King's money. So great was his political and social influence that James I., in 1612, cannily put the office into commission, just as Peter the Great dealt with militant ecclesiasticism by the Holy Synod. The Treasury Board now consists of four Lords Commissioners and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The First Lord has no Departmental duties. The three Junior Lords have as much to do with the British Treasury as with that of China. The Treasury is now no more than a name. That is our way. Formal documents run in the name of "My Lords," who do not exist in fact. The real power rests with industrious, able, and ambitious clerks. There are two Secretaries, both of whom are usually Members of Parliament. The Finance Secretary is specially responsible for Civil Service estimates; the Patronage Secretary is the chief Whip of the Party in power, conducts negotiations with importunate title-hunters or office-seekers, and attends to correspondence relating to appointments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is a political officer of the highest rank, is largely in the hands of the permanent officials of the

Treasury, who enjoy high reputation for ability, employment in the Department being regarded as the Blue Riband of the Civil Service. The Treasury regards all other Departments, not only as inferior to itself but as ne'er-do-weels. It looks upon them as prodigals, if not as licentious squanderers of national funds. When Mr. Chamberlain went to the Colonial Office, it was fully expected that he was about to develop the Colonial Empire by liberal, systematic, and wise expenditure on the Crown Colonies, conducted on business principles under his own experienced direction. Little has been done. The Treasury stepped in.

The Colonial Office has been severely criticised for the absence of men of Colonial experience from its ranks. The Treasury, not the Colonial Secretary, is the hindrance. Great obstacles are placed by the Treasury in the way of Colonial Office men desiring to serve in the Colonies. I have shown that one rejoinder of the mandarins of the Foreign Office to the criticism hurled at their heads is that the Treasury is to blame. The Foreign Office is vain and inefficient, manned by clerks with less knowledge and more self-esteem than those in the Treasury; but in common justice it must be said that the incompetent persons who find themselves in the second-class diplomatic

posts are kept there by the obstinate refusal of the Treasury to provide funds to let them go. Some of the "diplomatists" employed by the Foreign Office abroad are so incompetent that it would be cheaper for the country to pay them their salaries and let them stay in England. The omnipotence of the Treasury is thus not exercised for the public benefit. The Treasury Jove sanctions nothing that he can refuse. Its influence on the Post Office, Admiralty, War Office, Foreign and Colonial Departments, is mephitic and blighting as the fumes of sulphuric acid on orchids. The Treasury kills initiative, destroys ambition, neutralises ability, baffles foresight, and stretches to the length of its procrustean bed the best and the worst. When a great question arises, needing the exercise of high skill and great knowledge, it is decided, not by the Department which possesses the knowledge, but by the Treasury. The consequence is, that the Treasury has come to be regarded by the other cowering Departments as Mount Sinai was looked on by the Jews in the time of Moses, but without valid grounds for so doing. The result is that all the public Departments are not only tied and bound with coils of their own red tape, but the tape-coils of the Departments are further compressed by the cooperage of Treasury red

tape. As water is to wine, so is the red tape of the Departments to the red tape of the Treasury.

When the office of the Lord High Treasurer was placed in commission, it was not contemplated that the two ultimate effects would be, firstly, to withdraw power from Parliament, people, and from Ministers, by placing the supreme direction of the Empire in the hands of a financial papacy; and, secondly, to make a policy of drift and *laisser faire* the only policy for average Ministers. A thousand years ago the Treasury was contained in a box, and the Lords of the Treasury were the people who kept the key or sat on the box. They have generally sat on it tightly ever since when they should have opened it, and they have opened it when it should have been shut.

It is apparent to business men that a system under which four officials out of six composing the Treasury Board have nothing whatever to do with the Treasury is a bad system, because misleading to the public, productive of red tape, and tending to concentrate and increase the power in the hands of an anonymous and irresponsible bureaucracy. The most important duties of the Treasury are to look after the high finances of the country, and to assist the Minister of Finance with its knowledge and advice. Annual surpluses are manufactured by the bogus estimates of the

Treasury officials. The country is made to believe that it is more prosperous than it really is, and the acumen and moderation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is the subject of recurring pæans of praise from editors who desire knighthoods, written at the instance of proprietors on the prowl for a peerage. The advice of the Treasury to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in our time has been unfortunate. Sir Michael Hicks Beach took off a tobacco tax only to put it on again within a couple of years. The abandonment of the stamp duty on contract notes in respect of sales of produce is another feat performed by the Treasury. Every English subscriber to the Greek Loan had to pay 1 per cent. more than the subscribers in either of the other two guaranteeing countries. Step by step and year by year the Treasury has gnawed at the authority of Parliament, and undermined the autonomy of the other Departments, until its power has become overwhelming and dangerous. War has revealed the danger. Treasury finance is dangerous; its control irksome but ineffectual.

But, with all its power, the Treasury is no effectual safeguard of the public purse. The scandal in connection with the purchase of land on Salisbury Plain for War Office purposes would

have been denounced in every other country but our own as a piece of corruption. Under Treasury auspices, and with the assistance of two statesmen of the highest honour, the taxpayers were made to buy land at three times its value under all the forms of law. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who calls his critics "liars," will be unable to deny that the sale of the estate, of which he was owner, to himself, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at double or treble its value in the open market, was an operation that did not redound to the credit of the Treasury. The forms of the accounts prescribed by the Treasury in respect to the purchase of Salisbury Plain were of an unsatisfactory character. But the Treasury is an abstraction, and cannot therefore be held to account. Individuals in the Treasury—they are unknown to the public—are responsible for the scandal of Salisbury Plain. The public has been assured, on the highest authority, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is innocent in the matter. We may conjecture, therefore, that the miscarriage of the War Office land purchase may be attributed to the same mysterious power which was responsible for disbanding batteries of artillery, which were restored at enormous cost a little later.

Various Acts of Parliament have increased the

power of the Treasury, until it has been practically withdrawn from any effective control by the Cabinet. Forty years ago Mr. Anderson, then principal clerk, said that the source of all administrative authority for expenditure was the Treasury. Mr. Anderson added: "The right of the Treasury to determine what the civil Departments may spend and what they may not spend, though modified occasionally by certain special enactments, is incontestable, and rests upon an unbroken prescription, which has, accordingly, the force of law." So far from saving money by the exercise of despotism, the Departments are driven into extravagance by over-regulation. The Post Office, which is popularly supposed to be under the control of the Postmaster-General, is merely a Department of the Treasury presided over by a Treasury clerk. No expenditure is authorised until the Treasury is consulted. Postal expansion is stunted. Ministers of State confess in private how their blood boils at the interference of the Treasury. On the platform they may cut a gallant figure; in their Departments they are but henchmen at the beck of the Treasury Department. They wear the collar of Gurth.

One of the means by which the Treasury has consolidated its extra Parliamentary power has been by planting out its clerks in other Depart-

ments. Treasury clerks are the permanent heads of the Post Office, the Customs, the Inland Revenue, the Mint, and even the Exchequer and Audit Department. The result is, that the Treasury itself is chiefly manned by self-confident striplings, of whom not even the youngest is infallible. In the public service these lads combine omnipotence with levity, run the Empire by regulating the Colonies on strict Treasury lines, and persuade themselves that what they do not know never happened. The Treasury not only monopolises the power to sanction expenditure voted by Parliament, but has the power to sanction expenditure which has never come before the House in any shape or way. On June 10, 1899, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of whose compulsory liberality to the owner of the Netheravon estate I have spoken with a freedom that once characterised Parliament, at first positively refused to make a grant of any compensation to the families of the British officers who were slain by the French at Waima. Considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the Minister. On December 1, 1899, Treasury purse-strings opened, in spite of the Ministerial refusal in the previous June. There was no reason for the change but importunity. The Waima case is but an instance. It involved only a sum of

£200, which, safely invested, gave 9d. a week to the suffering families. In the previous year, however, the Treasury sanctioned £60,335 expenditure by the Admiralty, not a penny of which ever came before Parliament. When the Admiralty took possession of the Bay of Wei-hai-wei, it suddenly occurred to them late in 1898 that they had not got Wei-hai-wei itself. The Treasury bought the town, cash on delivery, for £14,897, 17s. 4d. Uncontrolled power is bad wherever it exists, and the uncontrolled power of the Treasury has been increased to such a point that at this moment no less a sum than £8,000,000 sterling is withdrawn from the control of the House of Commons, and in respect of this large sum the representatives of the people are unable to move the reduction of a half-penny.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who is one of our worst if one of our strongest Ministers (*pace* that little affair on Salisbury Plain), speaking at Bristol on May 16, 1900, was very angry because he found himself charged with obstructing the War Office and Admiralty in reference to preparations for the war and in naval construction. He referred to these statements as "lies," and, presumably, to all those people who have given them currency as liars. As I am one

of the people responsible for stating, on the best evidence, that the construction of British warships has been retarded and delayed, and as I am not in the habit of writing anything anonymously to which I am afraid to put my name, I can only state that the evidence upon which I made this statement is better than any evidence I possess that Sir Michael Hicks Beach made a speech at Bristol contradicting it. Now, the essence of a lie is intent to deceive. So far from there being any intention to deceive, I desire nothing but the truth, and I imagine that if the truth were to come out about the influence of the Treasury on the War Office and Admiralty preparations for the war, and on the general state of the Navy to-day, the Treasury system would be upset, that it would be deprived of uncontrolled and irresponsible power, and brought into line with the requirements of good administration. The fact that Sir Michael Hicks Beach's constituents pass resolutions of indignation and disgust at his critics proves nothing. Even his own *ipse dixit* emanates from a fellow-creature.

Those who have followed what has been written will appreciate the impossibility of organising and maintaining military and naval strength on sound administrative lines, and with due regard to economy under present conditions.

We must trust somebody to spend the national money. The proper people to trust are not the Treasury clerks but the Departments concerned, and we must take care to put the right men in charge. The Treasury never goes out of office. Individuals change; bureaucracy continues until the deadening influence of its ideas dwarfs the efforts of able men in other Departments to establish efficiency in the public service. During the last few months Anglo-Saxons have watched the process of consolidating Empire by the federation of the Australian colonies. Nowhere is the baleful influence of the Treasury more apparent in stunting Imperial development than in its dealings with the question of inter-Imperial communication. Left to private initiative, the bounty-fed German steam services to Australia and the Cape are destroying the profit, and therefore diminishing the speed, of the English services carried on by the British steamship companies. Any thoughtful man with a touch of imagination can see for himself that at this critical juncture of our relations with Australia, a wise Minister would foster any and every means of communication which would abridge the distance by hastening the speed of communication between the mother country and the Commonwealth. The Postmaster-General

is a mere figurehead, and is impotent. The expenditure of £100,000 a year (which might easily have been saved if the Uganda Railway had been placed under the management of a competent man, instead of a Foreign Office clerk) devoted to establishing Atlantic rates of speed by the mail steamers to Australia, would do more to increase the good feeling and material gain of the Australian and British publics than anything to be thought of.

The Treasury stands in the way. These untravelled "honours" men in charge of the national purse—men who do not know their Empire—know that the power of England has passed into their hands. They act like chetties in an Indian bazaar: they think in coin. Ministers are impotent. Lord Salisbury bemoaned his impotence, but, maddened with the Treasury, he blurts out, "I say that the exercise of its powers in governing other Departments of the Government is not for the public benefit. The Treasury has obtained a position in regard to the rest of the Departments of the Government that the House of Commons obtained in the time of the Stuart dynasty." After Lord Salisbury said this, Sir Francis Mowatt tendered his resignation, and the Prime Minister withdrew his imputation on the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his. Chief of

the Staff. Everyone was satisfied—except the nation.

When, therefore, debates take place in Parliament, and leading articles are written on questions of policy, the Treasury laughs to scorn the debaters and the writers, because the real power rests with the Treasury clerks. A strong man is needed to take away from the Treasury the power it has usurped, and to restore that power to Ministers who can be held personally and directly responsible to the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer poses in public as responsible for the Treasury. He is responsible, in the sense that a cork is responsible for the action and direction of a mill stream on which it floats. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is a puppet who knows nothing and can do nothing without the assent of the great financiers and the able and omnipotent bureaucracy behind him, which has gripped John Bull by the throat by monopolising the power of the purse. No better evidence of Treasury omnipotence is required than the Prime Minister's tremulous recantation of the heresy that dropped from his mouth when, in a brown study, he blurted out the naked truth. Perhaps he, a financial Cranmer, will one day revoke his former recantation, and finally stand by the Protestant doctrine of national finance to

which he has once set his hand. However this may be, the first element of change in the path of administrative reform must be the extrication of national business from the Stuarts of finance, by trusting each Minister in charge of a Department with the amount voted on the Estimates.

# CHAPTER XV

## THE COLONIAL OFFICE

THE Colonial Office is one of the two chief nerve centres of the British Empire. The other is its neighbour—the Foreign Office. The origin of the Department is buried in no distant past; it is a mushroom of recent growth, and only assumed its present form in the latter half of last century. In former days Colonial business was transacted along with other affairs of State. During the earlier period of British history there is no mention of a secretary to the Sovereign. Until the reign of Henry III., English kings transacted or bungled their own affairs. The earliest reference to the appointment of a great public officer to assist the Crown in the administration of home and foreign affairs was in 1253; not until 1607 is the first actual use of the title of "Secretary of State" found in English archives. In the forty-third year of Elizabeth, Lord Salisbury's ancestor, Sir Robert Cecill, as the

name was then spelt, was styled "Our principal Secretary of Estate." His coadjutor, John Herbert, was described as one of "Our Secretaries of Estate." Although the greater portion of the Colonial Empire is recent, Britain has possessed colonies since 1583, and Lord Salisbury's ancestor was concerned with Colonial affairs. At the end of the seventeenth century, in addition to the New England colonies and South Carolina, Britain possessed St. Helena, Gambia, the Gold Coast slave-trading stations, the Bermudas, Jamaica, Barbadoes, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The affairs of these colonies were overlooked by the Secretary of State until 1768, when increased business, arising from the troubles in America, led to the appointment of a principal Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department. This appointment was only maintained for fourteen years. When the Colonial policy of George III. culminated in the independence of the United States of America, no further use was found for the principal Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department; and, at the instance of Mr. Burke, an Act was passed in 1782 ingloriously abolishing the office. At that time the two other principal Secretaries of State divided the duties of government between

them, the one administering the "Northern," and the other the "Southern," Department. In 1782 the terms "Northern" and "Southern" were discontinued, and the present nomenclature was adopted of the Home and Foreign Departments, the affairs of Ireland and the Colonies devolving upon the elder of the two Secretaries.

On July 11, 1794, after the series of the five great wars with France was well in progress, and colonies began to come under the flag, a Secretary of State for War was appointed, and the largely increasing business of the Colonies, which hitherto had been carried on in the Home Office, was nominally transferred to him. For sixty years—that is from 1793—the business of war and the administration of the Colonies were performed by the same Minister, and an object lesson on the intimate association between the Departments of War and Colonies was thus given for two generations of our national life. Only in 1854 was the business of a Secretary of War separated from that of the Colonies. The Crimean fiasco liberated the Colonies when it was found that a great European war required the undivided attention of one whole Minister. Mr. Chamberlain's predecessors at the Colonial Office, from 1794 to 1899, have been in number forty-six; till 1854 they were Secretaries for War *and* Colonies. To make this brief de-

scription of the genesis of the Colonial Office in its present form completely accurate, it should be stated that the French War which was begun in 1793 was managed by the Home Department, but the very next year Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) was appointed Secretary for War, and also nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies; but the Departments of War and the Colonies were not *effectively* united until 1801. The British Board of Trade, which was formerly known as the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations has ceased to have any connection with Colonial affairs since 1794.

In the earlier half of last century control of the Colonies was an appointment regarded with scant favour by ambitious politicians. The post of Secretary for War and Colonies was generally offered to and filled by men on their promotion, who entertained but scanty interest in Colonial affairs. When Lord Palmerston, for example, was appointed Minister in 1809, he is reported to have addressed one of the permanent officials on his first visit to the Office in the following words: "Let us come upstairs and look at the maps and see where these places are." Later on, and indeed until the Seventies, no Colonial Minister made any mark on his generation. "These places" have now become the hope and strength of the British

Empire, and public opinion regards the Colonial Secretaryship as the chief place in the Cabinet, with the exception of the Foreign Ministry and the Premiership.

The Colonial Minister is one of the five principal Secretaries of State, the others dealing with home and foreign affairs, India, and war. His task is enough to weary Titan. He is directly concerned in the details of forty distinct and independent governments. In addition, there are a number of scattered dependencies under the dominion or protection of the King which do not possess regularly formed administrations. The line of demarcation between the duties of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Minister responsible for Foreign Affairs has never yet been accurately determined. For example, the British North Borneo Company, the Somali Protectorate, British East Africa, the Niger Coast, and the Uganda Protectorates — and until recently the Royal Niger Company—remain under the supervision of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, while the Transvaal is the care of Mr. Chamberlain. Confusion, easily avoidable, arises from this method of dealing with different territories in Africa, and a considerable body of expert opinion has recently arisen which thinks that a Secretaryship for African affairs should now be created, for the same

reason that a Secretaryship for India was appointed in 1859.

In addition to the forty distinct and independent governments for which the Colonial Secretary is responsible to Parliament, there is the Chartered Company of South Africa, a body which of late years has provided enough work for any ordinarily intelligent and industrious Secretary of State. Of the forty administrations to which reference has been made, eleven have elective assemblies and responsible governments. The remaining twenty-nine are under the more direct control of the Colonial Office. Colonies with responsible governments appoint Agents-General, who live in London, and who are, in fact, Ambassadors of the young nations. No small part of the duties of a Colonial Secretary consists in negotiating and conferring with these Ambassadors, whose growing influence dates from the first Colonial Conference of 1887. Few important decisions affecting the Empire are taken without consulting them.

The constitutional position of the twenty-nine administrations for which the Colonial Secretary is directly responsible may be divided into three categories. First, the four colonies or possessions which have no Legislative Council, namely, Gibraltar, Labuan, St. Helena, and Basutoland. Secondly, the sixteen colonies where the Legis-

lative Council is nominated by the Crown—that is, by the Colonial Secretary. Thirdly, the nine colonies where the Legislative Council is partly nominated by the Crown. Cyprus, which is not a British possession, but is legally subject to the Sultan, is also administered by the Colonial Office.

It will thus be seen that the duties of the Colonial Minister, if efficiently performed, involve not only the possession of great business ability, but also the assistance of a highly trained and competent staff. The necessity for a separate staff for the administration of the Colonies and the assistance of the Secretary of State came home to our rulers in 1794, when the first part of the great French War, which added to the debt £226,000,000, gave Ceylon and Malta to the Colonial Empire. When the second part of that war ended—which further raised the debt by £277,000,000, adding Tobago, St. Lucia, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice to British dominion—the position was somewhat similar to that of the United States to-day, where, in addition to the work connected with Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State has become responsible for a new set of American possessions.

The assistance authorised by Parliament to the Secretary of State for the Colonies is as follows:—The Parliamentary Under Secretary, who must

sit in one of the two Houses of Parliament, holds an office constituted in 1810. With the exception of the seven years from 1815 to 1822, this appointment has continued ever since. If the Colonial Secretary is in the House of Commons, it is usual to appoint a peer as Parliamentary Under Secretary. In addition to the office of Parliamentary Under Secretary, an Assistant Under Secretary was appointed in 1847; a legal adviser was added in 1867, this functionary being made an Assistant Under Secretary in 1870; a third Assistant Under Secretary was appointed in 1874; while two years ago a new post—that of Assistant to the Legal Assistant Under Secretary—was created. The whole of these high officials of the Colonial Office are staff officers, selected under the patronage of the Secretary of State. The subordinate administrators consist entirely of highly educated university men, who are appointed to the Colonial Office after being tested by the severest examination to which the intellect of our public servants can be subjected.

The establishment of the Colonial Office thus consists of—

The Secretary of State.
A Parliamentary Under Secretary.
A Permanent Under Secretary.
Three Assistant Under Secretaries.

A Legal Assistant.

A private secretary to the Secretary of State, with three assistant private secretaries.

A Chief Clerk.

Twenty-four principal and First Class clerks.

Twenty-nine Second Class clerks.

A large staff of copyists, who, by the way, are lady-typewriters.

Messengers and temporary writers.

The twenty-four First Class and principal clerks of the Colonial Office to-day are without exception men of mark. All of them are university men, and twenty-one out of the twenty-four possess the highest university degrees. Their intellectual culture is equal to that of the most competent and best known administrators of the British Empire; and although Mr. Chamberlain himself is not a university man, and was not educated at one of the great public schools, it is noteworthy that every one of his lieutenants who bear the burden and heat of the struggle to administer the Colonial Empire are public-school and university men. Some of them are Balliol men, and owe to Dr. Jowett their intellectual outfit. Dr. Jowett's pupils take a leading place in the government of the British Empire. India, South Africa, and the House of Commons are each under the leadership of Balliol men. The qualifications which have

led Mr. Balfour, Lord Curzon, and Sir Alfred Milner to success are similar both in kind and degree to those possessed by the twenty-four principal and First Class clerks among whom is distributed the everyday administration of the business of the Colonial Empire. These twenty-four nameless representatives of the mother country are interesting both in themselves and as the effective portion of the machinery of government. They are "The Office." However Colonists, foreigners, or the public may talk of the Crown, Parliament, the Cabinet, or any other form of control of Colonial affairs, the mother country is concentrated and personified in these twenty-four gentlemen. It might at first sight be supposed that the power of "The Office" is exercised only by its chief. In its present occupant we have one of the most eminent of our public men, the strongest personality, and perhaps the most capable administrator of our day; but it is erroneous to suppose that the high officer of State who holds the seals of the Colonial Department wields the power generally attributed to him. The average tenure of office of a British Colonial Secretary of State is under two years and four months. It is not to be supposed that a new Minister, who is immediately called on to consider many questions of the greatest magni-

tude, and to arrive at hundreds of decisions on details involving local considerations of which he is ignorant, can exercise a wise discretion unless he leans upon the judgment of expert subordinates, each of whom, therefore, personifies the mother country to thousands and even to millions of fellow-subjects upon whose faces he has never gazed. The Parliamentary Under Secretary is as new to the business as his chief. It is thus evident that, except in matters of high policy involving new departures, the Colonial policy of Britain is largely directed by the permanent members of the Office staff. When the Colonial Secretary's personality is as strong as that of Mr. Chamberlain, the spirit of the chief is infused throughout the whole staff. But a strong Minister is rare. A large number of our Colonial Secretaries were plain men who had the good sense to know their own ignorance. An amusing instance of this was blurted out by the late Lord Blachford, who, as Sir Frederic Rogers, passed eleven years of his life as permanent Under Secretary at the Colonial Office. In an interesting letter to Miss S. Rogers, he writes: "I like my chief (Lord Granville) very much. He is very pleasant and friendly, and I think will not meddle beyond what is required to keep us clear of political slips." Now, Lord Blachford was a

Little Englander. He regarded Sir Bartle Frere as a "mischief." He snubbed the Colonists of New Zealand, bungled the affairs of the Cape Colony, and with the tacit connivance of indolent or incompetent Parliamentary chiefs, he contrived to inspire the Colonists with the rooted antipathy to Downing Street which time and Mr. Chamberlain have not wholly dispelled.

The spirit in which these twenty-four chief permanent officers regard their duties is a matter of national importance. Almost without exception they were trained at one or other of the great public schools, thus breathing from early boyhood the atmosphere of those institutions, and the tone and spirit inculcated no less by ancient tradition than by more direct methods of teaching. An example of what that spirit of modern British Colonial administration is may be learned from Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold*, headmaster of Rugby; and more recently from that of the late Dr. Thring, headmaster of Uppingham, who is the pioneer of modern methods in our great public schools. In the year of the Queen's first Jubilee, Dr. Thring pointed out to his boys how the life of a great English public school is linked with that of our race in distant lands, and how year after year the Empire is manned and governed from the great educational foundations, and how essential it was

that this life should be high and true and pure. He added, in language applicable to both branches of the race: "The glorious national inheritance which they enjoyed was every hour widening. Woe to them who touched this inheritance with the hand of evil, and woe to them who betrayed. Woe to all meanness of thought or aim; woe to all that forget the high duties which must ever be joined to the exercise of world-wide power and influence." With a staff imbued with this spirit it is not surprising that Colonial administration in recent times is effective, sympathetic, and reasonably successful.

The business of the Colonial Office is divided into five principal Departments:—

1. North American and Australian Department, now controlled by Mr. J. Anderson, C.M.G.

2. The West Indian Department, presided over by Mr. A. A. Pearson.

3. The Eastern, Ceylon, and Straits Settlement Department, of which Sir W. A. B. Hamilton is the head.

4. The South African Department and the affairs of the South African High Commission, administered by Mr. H. W. Just.

5. This Department deals with the concerns of St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Bechuana Protectorate,

Basutoland, Gambia, Natal, Gold Coast, Lagos, and Malta.

In addition to these arrangements for the distribution of business there are three further divisions, which deal respectively with general and financial affairs, with correspondence, and with accounts. That the duties of the Correspondence Department are sufficiently diversified may be seen by the following brief résumé of the subjects with which it deals. It prepares and issues the letters on matters relating to postal affairs, copyright, telegraph and commercial business, university examiners, military commissions, replies to circulars, governors' pensions, naval cadetships, flags, precedence, Civil Service uniform, foreign orders, together with general correspondence respecting Colonial defence, and the passing of charters, letters patent, commissions, and warrants. The Accountant's Department is concerned with the preparation of Parliamentary estimates, accounting for Parliamentary grants administered by the Colonial Department, and correspondence in respect to such grants, and other matters affecting Imperial finance, receipts, and payment of Colonial pensions other than Governors'. The nine other Departments are responsible for the Colonial Office library, where the archives, Colonial Acts of

Parliament, minutes of the Legislative Councils of the Crown Colonies, and works of reference, both legal and general, are collected for the use of the executive officers. The Registering Department deals with the receipts and distribution of papers and correspondence. There is also a sub-registry for the North American, Australasian, and West African Departments. The printing branch, located in the basement, prepares important papers for Cabinet and Departmental use which are not sent to the King's printers or the Government printing office. In the copying branch lady-typewriters are largely employed. They are located in a large hall on the top floor of the Colonial Office, and are thus removed from all contact with the rest of the building.

The Order of St. Michael and St. George has its habitat in the Colonial Office. The King is, of course, the head of the Order. The Grand Master and First Principal Grand Cross is H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge; Sir Robert Herbert, who was formerly Under Secretary, is the Chancellor of the Order. Some of the work that is done for the Colonial Office is paid for, not in money, but by the bestowal of a coveted decoration. The Order of St. Michael and St. George is secretly known by the sobriquet of "The Monkey and the

Goat," a title that doubtless originated in the mind of a disappointed applicant. Although not equal to the Order of the Bath, a K.C.M.G., or, still more, a G.C.M.G., is a distinction that is highly prized. It rescues the Christian name of the holder from obscurity, and entitles his wife to be addressed as "My Lady." Former Colonial Secretaries have not always exercised due discretion in the distribution of the Order. For example, during the last Transvaal War, a few British sympathisers were invested with the C.M.G.—the lowest rank in the Order. One of them was a butcher, who wittily indicated his contempt for Great Britain and the Order he had acquired by affixing as a sign over his shop, "G. Ferreira, Butcher, C.M.G."

But one word is needed to describe the Crown Agents of the Colonies, who act as commercial and financial agents in this country for such of the colonies and Colonial governments as do not possess Agents-General or Ambassadors in London. Until 1883 each colony appointed its own Agent in London, but then all the agencies were consolidated into one office, with the exception of six Agents, who continued to represent some of the West Indian Departments. Colonies which have received responsible governments cannot avail themselves of the services of the Crown

Agents, who transact business for thirty-nine colonies and protectorates, while ten colonies are directly represented by their own Agents in London.

The *Emigrants' Information Office* was established in 1887, by Queen Victoria's Government, for the purpose of supplying intending emigrants with useful and trustworthy information respecting emigration, chiefly to the British colonies, and is under the direction of the Colonial Office. It issues every quarter a large poster or advertisement, which is exhibited in all post-offices throughout the United Kingdom. This document contains a concise statement of the actual condition of the labour market in all the chief British colonies. In addition, the Information Office issues special quarterly circulars on the Canadian, the Australian, and South African colonies, which are sent free to anyone desiring them. A special circular is devoted to the emigration of women, while handbooks containing full details of the conditions of life and general information concerning the great self-governing colonies are issued to the public at the nominal price of twopence each. In addition to this is a professional handbook, showing the necessary qualifications in the Colonies for clerks, governesses, commercial travellers, mounted rifles, notaries-public, nurses, physicians, policemen,

railway servants, surveyors, teachers, and veterinary surgeons. Having served since its commencement on the Voluntary Committee which administers this Department, under the control of the Colonial Office, I am able to speak with some confidence of the admirable work it has done—chiefly of a negative sort — by preventing unscrupulous adventurers from misleading the poorer classes in their attempts to find a new home across the sea. The message of this Department to the people is the cry of an eternal "Don't go."

The mother country appears to Colonists in far-off lands as a mysterious, powerful entity which is loosely conceived of as the British Isles. Investigation of the meaning of mother country, however, narrows that conception into successive stages, each smaller than the other. The authority of the United Kingdom is delegated to Parliament; Parliament hands over to the Executive Government the Colonial questions of the day; the Cabinet does not interfere with the Colonial Secretary, who, in his turn, does not find in his own Department or in that of his Parliamentary Under Secretary materials for a decision. The mother country is found in various places—sometimes in stuffy back rooms. In the attic or the basement of the stately pile in Downing Street you will find all of the mother country that really exercises supremacy

and actively controls the vast and widely scattered possessions of Britain. How important it is, therefore, that the history, the capacity, and the training of the individual, into the narrow limits of whose personality we find the mother country shrunk, should be of the highest type procurable! The first and most essential element, after that of character, is that Mr. Mother Country should enjoy a permanent tenure of his office. The introduction of politics into the British Colonial Office would inflict more injury on the Empire than defeat in a pitched battle by sea or land. The principal officials of the Colonial Office have their political opinions like other Englishmen, but I do not know of a single instance where a Gladstonian sympathiser or a convinced Unionist allowed his opinions on burning public questions of the day to interfere with the loyalty of his service to the Minister who is his chief. A hundred years ago the case was far otherwise. Largely owing to the example of Mr. Gladstone, the higher branch of the English Civil Service, of which the Colonial Office contains some of the most brilliant representatives, has completely purged itself of all those partisan elements which in France and some other countries practically destroy the influence of the mother country in Colonial administration.

If there is one quality more than another which

is required in Colonial administration, it is that which makes a man a gentleman. He should respect himself, be specially courteous to Colonial visitors and others, who have rarely enjoyed the same educational and social advantages as himself. At the present time the business of the Colonial Office is transacted in a manner that is a model to the other Departments. Letters are answered in a day or two which, if addressed to the Foreign Office, would lie unnoticed for a month. Visitors with business to transact are courteously received, patiently listened to, and are sent away with the conviction that the country's affairs are handled by business men. The result is that the Colonial Office has a high sense of *esprit de corps*, which extends beyond the limits of Downing Street, and is shared by the fifty-six Colonial Governors, who fill a larger place in the public eye than the clerks in the Colonial Office. Modern Governors are now really little more than splendid and dignified clerks at the end of a wire, whose real masters sit in little rooms in London, and draw but a fraction of the salaries paid to the docile satraps of Britain.

During the last few years Colonial governorships have altered in character. Formerly, when the Colonies were regarded as expensive encumbrances, a political failure in the House of Commons, a discontented or incompetent colleague in the

Ministry, was thrust upon Colonists who, although compelled to pay the salary of an unwelcome representative of Queen Victoria, were not consulted in his appointment. Another class of Colonial Governor who looked forward at the close of his career to the enjoyment of the plums of the profession was the man who had worked his way up from the government of some small West Indian or Asiatic possession to the full-blown dignity of an Australian or South African governorship. Governors of the great colonies to-day are obliged to be rich men. A man who only spent his pay on the entertainment of the inhabitants of New South Wales or Victoria would be regarded very much as a Lord Mayor who, during his year of office at the Mansion House, provided his guests with temperance drinks and retired with savings from his salary. The governorship of an important colony was recently offered to a peer, who cabled to his predecessor to know how much in excess of the salary the tenure of office would cost him. The answer was as follows: "With strict economy you may do it for £15,000." One distinguished Governor, who was very popular, during his term of office spent no less than £70,000 in addition to his salary. Sometimes his outlay was wasted. Desirous of giving the Colonists an example of the way in which a ball supper was served in London,

he provided, at great expense, a number of delicacies which came out by the mail steamer. Among them was £40 worth of fresh salmon. This was duly prepared by the Viceregal *chef*, but nobody touched the delicacy. The viands the Colonists preferred were boiled turkey and roast beef. To these they were accustomed, and a profusion of food to which they were habituated pleased them better than the provision of unlimited quantities of strange delicacies.

There are still, however, instances where administrative capacity is of paramount importance, as to-day in the Cape Colony. Sir Alfred Milner is not supposed to be a Crœsus, and the standing salary of £5000 a year for the Governor of the Cape Colony is insufficient to maintain his position. He accordingly is allowed to draw £3000 a year as High Commissioner, and a further £1000 personal allowance from Imperial funds. The great self-governing colonies now insist upon the names of their future Governors being submitted to them before the actual appointment is made. A few years ago Sir Henry Blake was appointed to the governorship of Queensland, and by some unfortunate accident, much to the annoyance of the Queen, the information leaked out before the Colonial Ministers had been consulted. The people of Queensland would have

none of Sir Henry Blake, who, though a brilliant administrator and valuable public servant, was constrained by circumstances to relieve the then Colonial Secretary from the awkward position by offering his resignation. The position was then offered to Sir Henry Norman, at that time Governor of Jamaica. Sir Henry Norman had had a long and distinguished career in India, which, in the opinion of the Queensland Ministry, warranted them, after some hesitation, in accepting His Excellency as Governor. During Sir Henry Norman's tenure of the Queensland governorship he was offered the viceroyalty of India, and accepted it, but on second thoughts decided to stay in Queensland, as he considered that the Governor-General of India should belong to one of the great families, and command the general support of public opinion and the Press. The Queensland Colonial community, innocently not suspecting the real reasons that induced Sir Henry Norman to withdraw his acceptance of the greatest prize in public life obtainable by a subject of Queen Victoria, expressed their conviction that the real cause of Sir Henry's withdrawal was his sense of the great charm and paramount importance of his occupancy of Government House in Brisbane.

The duties of Governors are regulated by a

long series of standing orders, which settle their appointment, pay, functions, and powers in the most minute detail. The manner in which their visits are to be paid and received by various ranks of military and naval commanders, the precedence they are to enjoy, the uniforms they are to wear, and the powers they are to exercise are all set forth in great opulence of detail.

Notwithstanding the excellent quality of the Colonial Office staff, the organisation I have described stands in need of reform. It is not framed in accordance with the needs of the developed Empire. A glaring case of the inadaptability of the Colonial Office in its present form to do the work of the Empire is to be found in the recent visit of the Australian Delegates to England. With an efficient Department this visit would have been needless. The British Empire woke up one Monday morning to find that a Federation Bill, iron-clad, and complete in every detail, was to be presented to Parliament *à prendre ou à laisser*. Since the Colonial Office has no Colonist within its portals, and the Agents-General for the Colonies are Ambassadors whose energies are bespoken by the affairs of their own people, it is not surprising that the Colonial Office was caught unprepared. Nobody exists whose duty it was to warn the mother country of events

in which she is concerned. It is not unreasonable for the people of Britain to expect that the Colonial Office should have anticipated and prevented the unseemly squabble between the lawyers on opposite sides of the world; a squabble which contains in it the seeds of a separation or the germs of Imperial Federation, according to the impression made upon the Australian mind of the directing ability of the mother country. A Colonial Office that does not contain a Colonist cannot be regarded as an efficient Department.

Finally, a further change in the direction of efficiency required in the Colonial Office is the detachment of African business from the Colonial Department, so that the confusion arising from dealing with the different territories in Africa by the method in vogue may cease. A Secretary of State for African affairs should be appointed, for the purpose of dealing with Africa, for the same reason that a Secretaryship for India was appointed in 1859. The Foreign Office bungle with the Uganda Railway, the absurdity of Foreign Office methods of administration, and its uniform record of failure, rebellion, and expense are sufficient grounds for placing the African affairs for which it is now responsible in less incompetent hands. The Dark Continent now needs a Minister all to herself, and a Council on the model of the

Indian Council. Until these changes are brought about, the Colonial Office, which is the most efficient of all the public Departments, cannot be deemed wholly free from the taint of inefficiency.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE WAR OFFICE

### WANTED—A MAN

"I should like to say clearly and openly that I start from this point, and I think I have verified it sufficiently, that the whole system of reports, regulations, and warrants under which the Army now serves has grown up entirely for the benefit of the War Office clerk, and to find work for the War Office rather than to provide control over the Army."—SIR REDVERS BULLER.

WHEN the man in the street considers the problem of Imperial defence, he is apt to lose his footing, and, wallowing in a muddy sea of detail, large principles are hidden from his sight. The War Office has been unjustly, because indiscriminately, attacked. In no previous war have our soldiers been better fed or better clothed, better doctored, more tenderly nursed, or more swiftly and comfortably conveyed to the seat of war. A military system that can accomplish these things is not despicable. But the whole has been blamed for the vices of a part. A military system that turns

the tram conductor, the newspaper seller, and vestry employé into the fighting line at a fortnight's notice, with scarcely three per cent. of absentees, may not be ideal or a perfect system, but it is one that has worked well at a pinch, and that has come to stay. When dealing, therefore, with the defects of the War Office, we must be careful to distinguish between those parts of it which have worked well and deserve praise, and those which have covered the nation with humiliation and involved the taxpayer in the expenditure of unnecessary millions of money, while causing the futile sacrifice of thousands of lives. The strictest examination and the most perfect reconstruction of the methods of the War Office will be of no use if the things that have gone wrong in the present war are entrusted, under the new system to be created, to the people who have mismanaged the old one. But we must be careful to distinguish between the things that have gone wrong and the things that have gone right, and to differentiate between the men who have done well and the men who have done ill. Provided centralisation was unavoidable, it cannot be denied that the purely financial side of the War Office has been extremely well done. But centralisation and the social despotism of the smart set are the two curses of the Army.

The Indian and Egyptian Armies, being exempt from the bureaucratic control of Pall Mall and the influence of smart women, are in a state of reasonable efficiency. The Army in South Africa, until it was rescued from disaster by our great Indian General, was rapidly falling into confusion, because the methods of Pall Mall and the preference of ill-educated men of birth or wealth over trained men of ability, were accountable for nearly all our reverses. The home Army is strangled by red tape, wielded by hundreds of civilian clerks, who have managed to snatch the real control of the Army out of the hands of men whose business is war. All power is concentrated in London. A General Officer commanding a district in the United Kingdom is not trusted to expend a larger sum than £1, on his own judgment. A White Star captain, with a salary of £800 a year, may be trusted with the unfettered expenditure of £20,000. The New York agent of the late Mr. Ismay is allowed to control £400,000 a year. A British Lieutenant-General is trusted by the civilian staff of the War Office to the extent of twenty shillings! A story illustrating red tape is related by an engineer officer. In the course of his duties, which involved travelling over the country, he sent in a bill which contained a charge, "porter, 6d." When he therefore claimed a return of the

sixpence he had expended, he was told by the War Office authorities that alcoholic drinks were not to be included in the travelling allowance of officers. He rejoined that he was not claiming for alcoholic drinks, but for the hire of a man to transport his baggage at a station. Upon which the sapient official rejoined that in future he should not claim for porter, but porterage. On the next occasion on which this officer, who was a wag, was travelling on behalf of his country, he sent in a bill which included the item, "cabbage, 2s." The bill was promptly returned by the War Office authorities, with the statement that green vegetables were not to be included in the travelling allowance of officers. The officer replied that he did not mean to imply that he had bought green vegetables, but that he had taken a cab, and that as when he had asked for the hire of a porter he was instructed to call it porterage, he could only presume that he was carrying out their Lordships' wishes in claiming for the return of the sum he had laid down on the transport of his person and goods from the station under the head of "cabbage."

The real trouble in the British War Office is that the regulations and warrants under which the British Army now serves have grown up entirely for the benefit of the War Office clerks, and serve

to find work for them at the War Office rather than to find control for the Army. If the ridiculous regulations were abolished to-morrow, the War Office clerks would find in practice that they have nothing to do.

The Indian Army and the Egyptian Army are free from the control of the War Office, and hence success in the field is organised more cheaply and with greater certainty than is possible under the cumbrous forms of Pall Mall. The Duke of Cambridge was the embodiment of military Toryism. Change, in the view of His Royal Highness, was in itself an evil, and the consequence was perpetual refusal to adopt necessary and incessant modifications of the existing system. Hence the smart society side of the War Office to this day clings as far as it dare to the obsolete traditions of the earlier part of last century. The fierce criticism, however, poured upon the War Office of late years has taken effect in such matters as recruiting and the comfort of the private soldier. The monopoly of good posts by incompetent men still continues.

While we have extended our Empire in all directions, we have allowed the Army to become altogether too weak to protect our great and increasing interests, and we add to its weakness by clerical domination. Within the last few years,

however, the Navy has been strengthened. But no Navy, however strong, could alone defend the Empire, which is scattered throughout the world, requiring numerous garrisons for its coaling stations. There can be no question as to the need for maintaining our supremacy on the ocean; but we also require an Army of moderate size and perfect in quality and readiness for action to defend these islands and to hold our positions and territories beyond the sea. It is a curious fact that, although we are the most peace-loving nation in the world, our Army is almost always at war somewhere or other. Year after year the necessities of our Empire, and the aggressions of frontier tribes who love war and hate peace, force us to fight, and it is therefore essential that we should always be ready for such attacks. Every year adds to the duties and responsibilities of our Army abroad, while no corresponding addition is made to its establishments at home.

The British Army is the most expensive army in the world in proportion to its numbers. The experience of the war has been to prove the great value of the Militia, of the Yeomanry, and of the Volunteers. Their value has quadrupled. The most economical and most effective methods of strengthening the Army will be to improve the efficiency of what have hitherto been called the

auxiliary forces, which have proved themselves in all essential respects to be equal to the best of Regulars. This will be a blow to the social domination of the smart ring, who regard the best posts in the Army as their private property. It is also desirable that officers shall be compelled to wear their uniform when off duty in exactly the same way as a private does; that the expenses of regimental officers are cut down to such a point that able men who are poor can make a career in the Army. No increase of men, and no expenditure after the war is over, will be of the slightest use if the whole social condition of the British Army is not revised from top to bottom, and the bureaucratic junta at the War Office, which preserves for smart people the plums of the service, be rooted out ruthlessly. A social revolution is involved. Parliament is impotent unless the people are in earnest. If we are to hold our own against a great Power, much less two of them, it is essential that the Army shall be organised and run on business lines, and that the social influences which have proved so disastrous and humiliating in South Africa shall be destroyed. The War Office, except in those matters previously referred to, has lost the confidence of the country. The organisation of the Army is deplorable. The Army Corps system had broken down before Lord Roberts laid

his magician hand on the dilapidated machine. The cost of the Army is enormous, and the cost of the Army will be more enormous if the War Office, as at present constituted, is entrusted with the task of the reorganisation. No patriotic Member of Parliament should authorise by his vote the expenditure of a single pound until he is satisfied that the millions required will be wisely expended by the expenditure being entrusted to capable men.

War Office officials are not only not born fools, but are not seldom men of more than average ability. Their intelligence has been sharpened and developed by the best education obtainable in England. They are industrious, able, and in private life men of honour. In spite of this, their action too often annihilates individuality, neutralises ability, encourages lying, makes foresight futile, and sterilises the germs of worthy ambition. Why is this? The reason is, because the degeneration of bureaucratic governments is due to a disease called routine. Whatever becomes routine sheds its vital principle. No longer does a mind direct the rules that govern routine. The War Office goes on working mechanically, though the work intended to be done remains undone. The wrong men are appointed, and all the results of sinister corruption are produced by men who, as individuals, are of

stainless character and of the highest honour. What is wanted, therefore, at the War office is not so much a new system as a Man—a Man who will be a law to himself; will restore life and energy to the dry bones; will purge the War Office of the bad influence of smart society; and who will, in fine, make the General Staff as efficient as the Commissariat, while bestowing as much sympathetic attention to the reorganisation and encouragement of the Militia and Volunteers as has hitherto been devoted to military tailoring. The Man, when he comes, will be known. This is the sign by which he will be known. Officers of the Army will be compelled to wear their uniforms on or off duty, on the same conditions and at the same times as are prescribed in the case of privates and non-commissioned officers. This act will drive many popinjays from the Army. But when we get our Man he must be backed.

The first duty to be performed by an efficient head of the War Office, when we get one, is to determine what duties the British Army is required to fulfil. It is not until an answer has been given to this question that the conditions under which the Army is best fitted to fulfil its duties can be settled. In the case of the Navy we know that hitherto its duties have been to beat the fleets of any two Powers, to hold the command of the

sea against them, to protect the great trade routes of commerce, and to defend our shores and the shores of our Colonies from invasion. The two-Power standard is now obsolete. Nobody has ever yet laid down in principle or detail the duties which the Army ought to be able to perform. Disquisitions on the subject abound. Nothing authoritative has ever been settled. For a score of years we have maintained by rule of thumb a miscellaneous force of 100,000 Militiamen, Volunteers, and Yeomanry. The purpose for which they were maintained has never been explained by authority. We do know, however, that whatever may have been the original object of maintaining the auxiliary forces, their despatch to South Africa to take their place in the fighting line alongside the Guards and the First Army Corps was never contemplated. The coming strong Man, then, will have first to settle what it is the Army is to do. Policy and strategy must be coupled.

The second point is to bring to a close the perennial controversy as to the duties devolving on the Army in India, the Army in the Colonies and the coaling stations, the Army in the United Kingdom, the Fleet, and the Marines. Competitive theories flourish as to the importance of the component elements of our defensive forces.

Until this competition is settled, harmony is impossible, and the expenditure of no money will get us any nearer the solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, the Fleet is starved. No expeditionary force can be sent from these shores to meet white men in the field without calling on the Reserves. For many years we have spent twenty millions and more per annum upon an Army which is really no Army at all. The principal reason for this is because it has never been settled what the Army has to do.

The alliance between the Army and society is so complete that no agitation from outside, short of revolutionary social change, is likely to have the slightest effect in producing economy and order unless the Prime Minister himself uses the whole weight of his character and position to place the defence of the Empire on a business footing. The present heads of the War Office are people who have failed to do what they were appointed to do, and they show no sign whatever of undertaking their great responsibilities in a serious spirit. The Permanent Under Secretary, during the Boer War, said, in reference to the performances of his own Department, "Where has all that thought been exercised? Within the four walls of that much abused institution, the War Office. Excuse me for giving this loud crow,

but I am at this time particularly inclined to cock-a-doodle-doo." The crowing of the War Office in 1900 will be interesting to the historian of the future. The complete evacuation of the chief places in the War Office by the whole of their occupants is indispensable to adequate reform.

# CHAPTER XVII

## COLONISATION AS AN AID TO WAR

IT has been commonly remarked by the opponents of the Unionist Government that the war in South Africa might have been prevented. What they mean by this is, that if certain despatches had not been written, a more conciliatory tone adopted, or concessions made to Mr. Kruger when the Government at last stood firm, war might have been avoided. This is foolishness. Any time during the last five years the pear has been ripe; its fall inevitable. On the other hand, the supporters of the Government say that war was inevitable. War, it is true, was inevitable, having regard to the want of foresight shown by all our rulers after Majuba. Impartial examination of popular feeling in the Cape Colony and in the late Republics since the Convention of 1884 and the Warren Expedition of the succeeding year proved war to be inevitable, unless steps had then been taken to make it impossible. Those steps

might have been taken. If England had had, not a Metternich, a Stein, a Bismarck, a Pitt, or a Canning, but even a Lipton or a Whiteley instead of a Granville, a Hicks Beach, or a Kimberley as Colonial Minister, there are two things that might have been done to prevent the great struggle which is not yet over. One was to veto the importation of armaments that could only be used against the suzerain Power; the other, to stock South Africa with sufficient voters from the mother country to prevent the Cape Colony maintaining a Bond Ministry in power, and thus giving to Afrikanderism the virtual alliance of the Cape Executive when hostilities broke out.

I do not speak on this subject as one who is wise after the event. In 1885 the results of a personal investigation of Dutch sentiment in South Africa convinced me that a war was inevitable unless the Englishry were reinforced by settlers from the mother country. To do so effectively, a sum of a quarter of a million was required to plant our British settlers throughout the Cape and Bechuanaland. Had this been done, disloyalty would only have found its expression through the Opposition — not by the mouth of the Cape Ministry of the day, since the new English voters would presumably have

voted against Krugerism, and hence no Bond Ministry would have acceded to power. I vainly urged this view in public at the Society of Arts and in other places: and was laughed at for my pains. Now, after spending £70,000,000 sterling on a war that might have been avoided by the expenditure, fifteen years earlier, of a quarter of a million, everyone is converted to the doctrine of colonisation when it is too late. Had our rulers in 1884 and 1885 been men educated in business, accustomed to look ahead, they must have seen clearly that the two Conventions, by exasperating the English garrison and inflating Afrikanderism with insensate pride, rendered war inevitable, unless the policy of the Conventions was supplemented by a judicious expenditure on practical colonisation, or the maintenance of a garrison of overwhelming force.

Mr. H. O. Arnold Forster, M.P., has been entrusted by the Government with the duty of inquiring into the subject in South Africa with the view of seeing to what extent it is possible to settle a portion of the Army now in the field on the soil of South Africa. No more suitable appointment could have been made. What is, however, depressing is the reflection that by the time the report is made — and it will be an admirable report — and the period for action

arrives, the psychological moment will have passed. If any considerable number of the men who fought in South Africa were to be effectively retained and settled there, it is obvious that the machinery for their retention should have been ready to come into operation without a day's delay at the close of the war. Any period of suspense will be spent by the majority of the men in loafing and discontent, and discontented, celibate settlers are useless, for it must not be forgotten that the object of the present colonising proposals in South Africa is not, in the first instance, philanthropic anxiety for the welfare of the Colonists, but a prudential and purely selfish consideration on the part of the British public, with a view to prevent their being troubled with hostilities in the future. In a word, the proposed colonising measures differ from the majority of others in modern history, inasmuch as the predominant motive that gives them birth is not altruistic, but selfish; not benevolent, but prudential; not philanthropic concern for the welfare of others, but a wholesome apprehension as to the inconvenience and expense of another war.

It is essential to look facts in the face. No scheme will succeed that is not preceded by clear thinking. The record of all colonising experiments is invariable failure, when the original

intentions of the framers are contrasted with their fulfilment. Still, the best brains of the country have never yet been concentrated upon this extremely difficult problem of successful colonisation. Men like Sir Alfred Milner, and Mr. Arnold Forster, M.P., have not hitherto been employed to deal with a question that has been left in the hands of men with first-class hearts and fourth-class heads. There are certain principles which must underlie this, as all colonising schemes. The first is that the unit of colonisation is not the fighting man, but the family. Without family life colonisation is war without its glory. It is a continual struggle with repulsive and incongruous occupations which no celibates will pursue from any other motive but that of religion or gold. It is unreasonable to expect that religious enthusiasm will animate the bulk of the proposed settlers. The hope of great gain only comes from gold or diamonds. The formation of domestic ties, therefore, is the motive that will alone appeal to the average settler-elect. Thus the marriage of settlers must form an essential and initial part of any colonising scheme that is destined to succeed.

The men who will come under the operation of the Government scheme may be classified under four heads. First, the men desirous of

staying in the country, possessing a little capital, having some knowledge of agriculture, and sufficient intelligence to shape out a career for themselves. To deal with this class will cause little trouble. All that is wanted is a passage for their wives or sweethearts, the gift or loan of land, oxen, and implements, or the guarantee of a small pension for a limited term of years. When the war is over, there will be a good deal of land to dispose of. Confiscated farms and Crown lands, both in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, will be at the disposal of the Government. In the north-east corner of the Cape Colony, the hotbed of disloyalty, there should also be a considerable number of confiscated farms available for the men who have risked their lives for the Empire.

The second class will be yeomanry and others more or less acquainted with country life at home, but penniless, or at all events destitute of means to settle, without intelligence and initiative sufficient to command success unless under competent direction. For this class it is advisable that a number of settlements should be provided where, in groups of thirty or forty families, the tillage of land under irrigation can be conducted under all the conditions of village life. Irrigation and access to markets are two essentials of success.

A schoolhouse, which could be used as a church on Sunday, will be the social centre of these village communities. The settlers in them will be rationed, but will receive rations only as a condition of work. The sale of produce will be credited to the settlers after deduction of actual outgoings. The cost of education, medical attendance, and spiritual oversight should be left to voluntary contributions or defrayed by Government; not in any case charged to the settler. These settlements will be harbours of refuge which will enable the men and their families to gain some insight into Colonial methods. Opportunities for employment elsewhere will be sought for by the more ambitious and active spirits, thus making the group of settlements a system of conduit pipes through which the Army settlers will be fitted for agricultural and civil life. Every facility should be given to men joining these village communities for marrying, and, in the event of the men being already married, the wives and families should be allowed to join the head of the household. The village system in Russia, the "Mir," will give many hints as to how to deal with these village colonies. The English flag should be hoisted over the schoolhouse every morning. Intoxicating liquor should be rigorously excluded in the interests of good

administration. Kaffirs should be excluded from the settlements at night, that the English children may grow up uncontaminated by native habits.

The third class with which the Government scheme will have to deal will be men, mostly from the Reserve, already provided with a useful trade, such as carpenters, engineers, plumbers, farriers, workers in leather and glass, cart-makers. For these men the reconstruction of a new country will provide ample occupation. The only difficulty in their case will be the provision of work and wages, pending the arrival of the enormous masses of raw material that will be required for the reconstruction and duplication of railways, buildings, and other necessary equipment for a large community of white men. The preparation and construction of the cottages, schoolhouses, fences of the conduit-pipe settlements referred to under the preceding head, will give full employment to these men until their absorption into the main body of the community.

The fourth class to be dealt with will be the Regulars, who have little or no knowledge of anything but soldiering. They will come out of the Army as they went into it, for the most part without saleable knowledge of competitive value. Many men join the Army because of trouble with the fair sex. Many more join the colours because

they have quarrelled with the conditions of life: others, because nothing better offers. Training with the colours in the line is not like that of the engineers or marines—educational and formative of civic qualities, and therefore these form the most difficult class to deal with. Except in rare instances, it is not desirable that these men should be retained in South Africa. They are more likely to be at loose ends, to become discontented. They will infallibly attribute their failure to the authorities. Brandy is ninepence a bottle at the Cape. Soldiers are, for the most part, street-bred people, with no knowledge or taste for agriculture, and the thriftlessness of character, for which our race is noted, is generally to be found developed to the largest extent among men enlisted from the great towns.

The failure of previous colonising experiments teaches us that no systematic scheme for settling people from the northern hemisphere, under a new heaven and a new earth, can possibly succeed unless the work is undertaken as a process and pursued patiently and continuously for at least twenty years. A considerable proportion of failure is not only likely, but inevitable. However, the families who take root on the soil will quickly develop a magnetic attraction of their own. The secondary immigration thus created is the most valuable product of immigration begun under

State auspices. No Government can itself conduct the actual details of State colonisation. The introduction of middlemen and sub-contractors is inevitable. It is necessary, therefore, to recognise that the hope of gain is the only motive which will attract capable intermediaries, and as it is important that these intermediaries should be people of character, it is desirable that they shall be well paid for their services. Every white man, woman, and child who settles in South Africa will buy £4 worth of British manufactured goods every year. The introduction of British settlers in South Africa, therefore, is an investment for the mother country, and involves the creation of a new market for British goods. The Government of Lord Liverpool in 1818–19 spent £70,000 in dumping down a number of ill-provided and neglected settlers in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony. The property of the descendants of these settlers is worth to-day over £20,000,000 sterling. The investment of money in successful colonisation is probably the most remunerative in which any country can engage. The facts about colonisation, which ought to have been studied and in readiness for use, have never been collected, and only when action is imperative, inquiry begins. Can there be a more telling comment on the lack of foresight with which we are governed?

# CHAPTER XVIII

## THE NAVY

"The defence of the country is not the business of the War Office or of the Government, but the business of the people themselves."—THE PRIME MINISTER to the Primrose League, *May* 9, 1900.

HITHERTO the British people supposed that their Government was a Committee chosen from Parliament by a Minister chosen by the Queen and paid a living wage in order to direct things which the people cannot do for themselves. The Prime Minister disputes this notion. Parliamentarians have long wrangled over the limits of State control and interference, but the most ardent individualist among them has never yet questioned the duty of the governing Committee of the nation to undertake the business of national defence by sea and land. So great is the conventional influence of wealth and station, and the just weight given to tradition and character in Great Britain, that the Prime Minister of the late Queen, speaking in the metropolis of the Empire,

repudiated the first duty of Government without causing a panic on the Stock Exchange. Lord Salisbury's remark is sheer anarchy—it is the crazy doctrine of Kropotkine and Stepniak. National defence involves compulsory co-operation. The general formula governing the individuals who take part in national defence is not, "Do this, or leave your place and take the consequences," but, "Do this, or you shall be made to do it." The element of compulsion necessarily involved by discipline renders the Executive Government the only body which can possibly perform the function of national defence. Compulsory co-operation involves the suppression of individual will. Breaches of subordination are, according to their gravity, dealt with by punishment. The understanding between the individual engaged in defence and the community is, in the words of Mr. Herbert Spencer, to "Obey in everything ordered, under penalty of inflicted suffering and perhaps death." Chronic or impending war generates a militant structure not only in the Army and Navy but throughout the community at large. A militant structure involves business principles. When, therefore, the Head of the Government renounces the business of defence and thrusts the responsibility upon the people at large, there is reason for

complaint, on the ground that the masses cannot organise for defence without upsetting the regular Government, which confesses its inability to protect the nation.

Lord Salisbury's words were primarily directed to the business of rifle-shooting. The anarchical arrangements he proposed would probably lead to greater slaughter than any that would be caused by a successful invasion. But that is not the most bewildering part of the case. That the Prime Minister of England in the year 1900 should nourish the idea that the successful defence of our homes is to be accomplished by turning our street-bred population into inefficient burghers on the Boer system is a marvel. The homes to be defended by Rifle Clubs, if ever they are attacked, will be attacked indirectly from a distance and on the sea. The presence of the enemy will be made known not by the rattle of Pom-Poms or the hoarse cries of a foreign soldiery looting and ravishing as they pass, but by the neglect of the butcher, the milkman, and the baker to call for orders in the morning. Defeat at sea would starve these islands and reduce their inhabitants to compliance with the enemy's terms in far less time than was consumed by the sieges of Kimberley or Ladysmith. When, therefore, Lord Salisbury

tells the people that "the defence of the country is not the business of the Government, but the business of the people themselves," it is high time that the people understood what the actual condition of their first line of defence really is. I have spared neither pains nor money to find out the truth for myself. The Navy is not ready for war. Our war fleets are not on a war footing: cruisers, destroyers, and auxiliaries are lacking, and cannot be improvised, organised, or trained when war breaks out.

Vice-Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, speaking at Glasgow two days after Lord Salisbury's renunciation of responsibility, said—

"He wished he could honestly feel that the condition of the Navy was entirely satisfactory. He could not do so. He believed that what they had got was good, but they had not enough of it to meet the combination which, judging from what they read in the Continental papers, they might have to meet. Speaking to a community of business men, he urged that we were only partially insured against the risks of war. He was not a politician, he was not biassed, he had no Party feeling, but as a naval officer he could not hide from himself that we had not enough battleships and cruisers to meet any emergency that might arise. There was nothing that could better insure the country than a

strong Navy. A Navy which could defy competition from any combination meant peace, a Navy of doubtful strength meant sooner or later war."

It is clear that the Admiral and the Premier cannot both be right. If the Admiral is right, the people have no means of remedying the defects of the Navy except through the Government.

The two facts connected with the Navy are, first, that the executive officers and men of the British Navy form the most splendid fighting maritime service the world has ever seen; and second, that the politicians and civilians concerned in the administration of the Navy neither give the fighting officers what they ask for nor tell the truth to the nation as to the facts of the Navy. Our war fleets are not ready for war. Officers are too few, and are not well educated. Men and ships are deficient.

Not only have we too few ships; many of those we have are not safe. I am informed on high authority that eight ships of the *Royal Sovereign* class, two ships of the *Centurion* class, and seven ships of the *Admiral* class are to-day fitted with wooden decks of three-inch Dantzig fir, laid direct on the beams with no plating underneath. The fire mains to be relied on for ex-

tinguishing the inevitable fire are exposed and would be shot away in action. Officer after officer has strongly represented the facts without effect. Admiral after admiral has vainly endeavoured to procure a change, and although my informants would get into serious trouble if their names were known, they are performing a patriotic service in appealing to the public to stimulate the civilians of the Admiralty to action in this matter. We cannot even relieve our anxieties by reflecting that the navies of other nations are in the same precarious condition as regards the presence of inflammable material in their warships.

Then as regards the deception practised upon the House of Commons and the public as to the actual condition of the Navy. The glory of the sea-going branch of the naval service is reflected on the politicians and civilians concerned in its administration. The latter are governed largely, some more and some less, by political rather than national or service considerations, while their foresight is shown by the attitude invariably taken up towards every new invention. The following is an extract from an elaborate minute written by the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1830, in reply to a request that a steamer might be employed for the conveyance of the

mails between Malta and the Ionian Islands. Vice-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, M.P., Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, and John Wilson Croker, M.P., were among his colleagues:—

"They felt it their bounden duty, upon national and professional grounds, to discourage to the utmost of their ability the employment of steam vessels, as *they considered that the introduction of steam was calculated to strike a fatal blow to the naval supremacy of the Empire*; and to concede to the request preferred would be simply to let in the thin edge of the wedge, and would unquestionably lead to similar demands being made upon the Admiralty from other Departments."

Compare Lord Melville's refusal to consider the question of steam with Mr. Goschen's refusal to consider submarine boats, and you will have an idea of the intellectual continuity of the political controllers of the Royal Navy.

This, however, is not the gravest charge against the political element at the Admiralty. The annual speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty in submitting the Navy Estimates to Parliament is of the nature of a prospectus issued to the shareholders in the United Kingdom. In the City the best prospectus is that which most successfully extracts money from the public by dwelling on the strong points of a proposed company, and sup-

pressing or touching lightly upon the weak ones. If the prospectus misleads the public by misrepresenting facts, the directors who have lent themselves to such a procedure are exposed to the risk of prosecution. When, however, the prospectus is issued in the form of a speech by a famous politician to the House of Commons, and material facts are suppressed or misrepresented so as to deceive the nation, then impeachment is the theoretical remedy: a peerage the probable result. The last time that a statesman was impeached was in 1806. We no longer impeach or hang bad rulers: that sort of thing is over now. Cabinet collective responsibility protects the incompetents, and has abolished impeachment and efficiency together.

In 1872 and 1873, Mr. Goschen asked Parliament for money to provide 42,665 tons of new ships for our Navy. What he did produce was 32,391 tons. The following year he was to have produced 8505 tons of new ironclads, but provided only 5592. He then went out of office. In 1895 he came back again. Take the last three years. He came down to the House of Commons three years ago, and said that so much money was wanted for naval construction. Parliament voted it. It was not spent. Next year he did the same thing. In introducing the Naval Estimates for 1899 he

qualified them as moderate, as moderate as was compatible with safety, and yet in 1900 he confessed that of these moderate estimates £1,400,000 had not been spent. In three years the unexpended money for construction amounts to £4,500,000. The money which should have been put into new ships, stated by the First Lord of the Admiralty to be required, has either been unspent or diverted into other channels, and this in spite of the fact that Mr. Goschen has seriously informed the country year by year that his estimate was the very lowest necessary for procuring an adequate provision of new ships. Furthermore, we were told as one of the reasons for not increasing the Shipbuilding Vote that we were able to build more rapidly than our rivals and possible adversaries. The annual farce of voting battleships which can never be laid down bids fair to become a tragedy, as we are warned by the Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, which is not a Channel Fleet, as its place is 1500 miles away in time of war. In the Boer War we overestimated our own strength and underestimated that of the enemy. It is certain that in the Naval Estimates, which have not been realised, the Government has fallen into the same error. While the British naval construction, said to be necessary by the First Lord of the Admiralty every year, is

not done, foreign Governments have their warships constructed in British yards without difficulty or delay. Sir John Briggs in his memorable work relates how Sir Robert Peel was deliberately misled by Admiralty officials as to the strength of the Navy.

Now, if a Prime Minister is misled, what chance has the public of eliciting the facts? What is required is the restoration of elementary morality into public life. The Admiralty issue annually to Parliament and the nation comparative returns of our own and foreign fleets, which are Chaldee to the uninitiated and an insult to those who know the facts. In these returns year after year are included obsolete ships, armed with muzzle-loading guns, such as no Admiralty dare put in line of battle against the *Corbet*, *Amiral Baudin*, and *Formidable* of France, or the *Brandenburg* and *Kaiser Friedrich III.* of Germany. I went to sea in the *Sultan* in August 1900, and returned aghast at the necessary consequences of employing such guns in a British battleship.

Does not the public deserve better than this? We are not afraid to know the facts nor unwilling to pay for what is necessary. The unswerving, patient, and exemplary support given by the public to the Government, demands truthfulness in relation to the defensive forces of the Crown.

There is no desire to hinder or hamper the men at the helm, nor to blame them idly, but what the man in the street desires, and, so far as he has the power, is determined to have, is that he shall not be kept in the dark as to essential facts or deceived by interested officials. We have been caught napping in the matter of cordite and other munitions generally. In the British Empire the permanent asset of greatest value is the character of the people.

Speaking at Bristol, in May 1900, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that, "In this question of economy was wrapped up much of the future prosperity of the country." There is a close connection between economy and efficiency. Much of the inefficiency of political naval administration is directly due to the absence of a capital account. Every year a large revenue is provided for the Board of Admiralty to spend, but there is no valuation of existing stock, no writing down of values in obsolete ships, badly constructed ships, boilers chosen in haste, or a Queen's yacht, the construction of which has been miscalculated. If any Government were really in earnest about efficiency, one of the first things that would be done would be to institute a capital account for the Navy. This work would be done in an office, and would not affect the

fighting branch. Periodical valuations would stimulate efficiency by revealing errors and exposing waste. When Governments were changed, the effect of the capital account of the Navy would be to stimulate strongly the incoming Administration to special pains in seeing that no over-valuation was made. The principal changes that are required at the Admiralty are, first, the full recognition of the individual responsibility to the public of the Minister at the head of the Department, and to him of each of his subordinates; secondly, the institution of a capital account under an independent audit, uncontrolled by the politicians; and, thirdly, the renunciation of the habit of deceiving the nation by returns that are untrue, by statements that are misleading, and by promises that are not kept.

Critical moments in the life of nations not seldom escape public notice. Only after the lapse of years a later generation discovers the significance of events which were regarded as indifferent or immaterial by their predecessors. The present loss of our former sea power is a case in point. Study of the facts relating to our own and foreign navies shows that we have lost the command of the sea; possibly, not irreparably; but that it is gone for the time being is beyond question. In other words, if maritime war were to break out,

with a possible coalition of Powers, for the first time since 1814, foreigners would be able to dispute with us the control of the ocean highways with excellent chances of success. After holding the command of the sea unchallenged for the better part of a century, Britain has lost it, with the silent acquiescence of our rulers. Five causes are contributory to this result:—

First, our recent naval programmes for men, ships, and material have been insufficient.

Secondly, the programmes proposed by the responsible Minister and sanctioned by Parliament as the least compatible with safety have not been carried out.

Thirdly, the ships that were included in our Naval Estimates, although laid down, have been delayed on the stocks or when under equipment, until some of them will be half obsolete before they are complete, and fourteen of the promised battleships are not yet included on the strength of the Navy.

Fourthly, other nations have ostentatiously and successfully increased their programmes of naval construction, thus still further diminishing our relative strength, until our relative weakness is the thing to consider.

Fifthly, a new and resolute claimant for sea power has arisen.

I will say a word on each of these five headings:—

1. The proof that our naval preparations have been insufficient is to be found in the opinions of every admiral afloat in responsible command of a sea-going fleet.

2. The second point is proved from the Parliamentary Returns, Mr. Goschen's excuses, and notorious facts.

3. With regard to the delay in the completion of our battleships, the following are the facts:—The *Implacable*, at Devonport, was delayed by the non-delivery of her guns and mountings; the *Albemarle*, building at Chatham, was to have been launched in August 1900—she was not ready for launching before December. In the meantime, the two new battleships which formed last year's programme will be delayed, and one of the new ships sanctioned by the last Parliament is only nominally begun after the new Parliament meets. At Devonport, the launching of the *Montagu* is also delayed. The *Glory*, by the time she was commissioned in December 1900, had taken over four years to build. Five years ago the *Majestic* and the *Magnificent*, larger ships, were built and ready for sea within two years. On the other hand, the Japanese have succeeded in getting the *Shikishima* and the *Asahi* completed, although

launched nine months after the *Albion*, and a year after the *Goliath*. The *Asahi* was launched after the *Formidable* and *Irresistible*, and on the same date as the *Implacable*, yet not one of those three English ships is likely to be ready for sea for some time, though the Japanese ships are in commission. A third Japanese ship, the *Hatsuse*, launched months after our own ships, which are half completed fixtures, is now on her way to Chatham to be docked. English contractors are able to build for foreign nations: they are either not asked or are unable to build for the British Government. It is necessary there should be some plain speaking. One reason is the unfair treatment of English contractors by the Admiralty. Contractors dare not complain, or they would be removed from the Admiralty list, but the revelation of the plans of one contractor to the agents of another is no uncommon practice, while the red tape with which orders are given out indicates the intellectual and moral deficiencies of a Department that needs overhauling by a practical business man in the prime of life.

The net result of five years' Admiralty policy is that, until our Navy has been considerably increased, we are dependent on diplomacy for the safety of our seaborne trade.

4. The energy thrown into naval affairs in France

and Russia since Fashoda, and in preparation for events in China, is shown from the fact that the British Fleet is now third in point of strength in the China seas, though British interests are greater than those of the rest of the Powers put together. British battleships are wanted in home waters.

5. The universal antipathy of the German people towards this country has already found expression in the doubling of their fleet. Within a few months the Reichstag will again be asked to increase the German Fleet by 50 per cent. A German combination with France and Russia is not outside the region of practical politics. The three Powers but yesterday combined to exert pressure on Japan, and may do the same against England to-morrow. German friendship is to be depended on as much—or as little—as that of France or Russia.

The naval weakness of Britain is notoriously the subject of earnest protest by some of our ablest admirals afloat. German efficiency has already secured a formidable and homogeneous fleet. Already Germany holds the Atlantic record for speed. Her system of mail subsidies has secured a large portion of Asiatic and Australian trade. Her rate of increase in shipbuilding, for the first time in history, has exceeded that of Great Britain. Germany has already stretched out her hands for

the trident. Neither France nor Russia is impatient to assist us to recover the supremacy which we have listlessly allowed to slip from our hands.

The conclusion is irresistible. The management of marine affairs for five years has been incompetent. The result of that incompetence is that we have lost the command of the sea. Nothing less than the vigorous demand of a determined people can change the situation.

What is gained by repeating "Britannia rules the waves," in the face of the fact that during the period of two years and a half previous to October 1900 Great Britain added three new battleships to her Navy, while France added five vessels of the same class during the same period of time? The capacity of our private contractors for turning out vessels of the highest class for foreign Governments accentuates the failure of the Admiralty to obtain delivery of ships ordered for the British nation; while the decadence of the Mercantile Marine and the ever-increasing swarm of foreigners employed therein, point clearly to the absence of any masterful and dominating intellect in the centre of affairs, applying itself continuously and exclusively to the duty of maintaining British sea power. Parsimony in coal and extravagance in gold-

leaf, insufficient sea training of officers, and the Laputan method of teaching men to become seamen on shore; the retention of muzzle-loading guns, neglected gunnery, and failure to attract the highest engineering skill at the Admiralty, are all counts in the indictment against our rulers. If drift is their maritime policy, wreck is our inevitable fate. Mr. Ritchie, M.P., speaking in the House of Commons on February 28, 1899, made use of the following words: "Take, for instance, the question of a war—the question of a war where the Naval Reserves were called out. What would be the result, under present circumstances? The result would be to deplete British ships of British seamen; and, instead of being partially manned by foreigners, they would, under existing circumstances, be altogether manned by foreigners. That, I think, is matter for very great regret, and if any suggestion can be made to remedy that state of things, or to endeavour to remedy that state of things, which the whole House regrets, then the House would do wrong not to consider any suggestion that might be made."

Contrast these remarks of Mr. Ritchie with the preamble of the Merchant Shipping Act, 7 & 8 Vict. c. 112: "The prosperity, strength, and safety of this United Kingdom and Her Majesty's

Dominions do greatly depend on a large, constant, and ready supply of seamen, and it is therefore expedient to promote the increase of the number of seamen, and to afford them all due encouragement and protection." To meet this state of things with the assertion that "Britannia rules the waves" points rather to a maritime Yorktown than to a repetition of Trafalgar.

The Prime Minister's speech about Rifle Clubs on May 10, 1900, suggested insensibility to the conditions of our national existence rather than appreciation of the inexorable law of sea power. There is no reason to believe that the First Lord of the Treasury, any more than the Prime Minister, has a quicker comprehension of the conditions that govern supremacy at sea than he exhibited in the earlier part of the year in regard to the operations of the British Army in Africa. Even the Colonial Secretary, at the Fishmongers' Dinner on October 24, 1900, carried his Imperialism no further than to say, "No, Britannia still rules the sea (cheers), and, with humble excuses to the Navy League, I think she will continue to do so." Why, in 1899 this was precisely the opinion of every one of the nineteen Cabinet Ministers in regard to the military might of Britain. Anyone who doubted

it was then dubbed "alarmist" or "hysterical." Sir Michael Hicks Beach stated at Liverpool on October 24, 1900, "As for the Navy, large sums have in recent years been spent in increasing it, until it was more powerful than ever." What is the fact? It is, relatively to foreign navies, weaker than ever. In none of these Ministerial statements, therefore, is there any sign that our rulers appreciate facts or are acquainted with the organic principles of sea power, or they could not honestly ignore our arrears of shipbuilding, the decadence of the Mercantile Marine, or the grave warnings of our fighting admirals, by phrases that are entirely misleading.

The present condition of the sea power which Britain theoretically possesses is akin to that of her presumed military predominance in the Cape Colony before the Boer War broke out. The Government were told the truth, both by the responsible General on the spot and the responsible General at home. The truth was unpalatable. Nevertheless, the despotism of facts required the mobilisation of the Empire soon after these warnings had been neglected. A naval Colenso, Magersfontein, or Stormberg would be irretrievable. No mobilisation of the Empire, no maritime Roberts, no drafts of

material, purchases of ships, or frantic outlay could retrieve a disaster to our fleet of battleships. Time would not permit. Means do not exist. In South Africa, more men who could shoot and ride, more mules and rifles, more traction engines, more guns and stores were available. We cannot improvise one destroyer, nor buy the missing cruisers and battleships when they are wanted. The lesson to be drawn from the parallel, therefore, is that naval war differs from war on land by its quality of suddenness, the irreparable character of fleet disaster, and the permanent results of victory. This quality of suddenness makes all the difference. Landsmen accustomed to view our naval unreadiness with a quiet mind, because preliminary failure and privileged muddle are characteristic of our race, and have generally been overcome in our land wars, unwarrantably presume on the conditions prevailing in war on land to dispense with essentials of success for war at sea.

It is this element of suddenness that necessitates our two great fleets being maintained on a war footing. Our Mediterranean and Channel Fleets are dangerously deficient in essentials; namely, in cruisers, destroyers, and auxiliaries. The vessels laid up at Portsmouth, Devonport, and Chatham will be hastily commissioned when

war breaks out; but these vessels when mobilised are not efficient. What a burden to throw on an Admiral—suddenly to pitchfork on him a mass of crude material at the moment when his time and his energy are required, not for drill, but for war; not for educating captains and training fleets to act together, but for striking the blow that shall save or lose the Empire.

The two great reforms required, accordingly, are that the two principal fleets should be made ready for war, and that our strategy should be adjusted to our national policy. That is the pith of the whole matter. When war breaks out, there will be no time for mobilised ships and hired auxiliaries to be brought into play. The vital blow would already have been struck. If the enemy had not struck the blow, we ought to have struck it. It is no secret that French naval strategy to-day has broken with the defensive traditions of the past. Their fighting scheme is based on taking the offensive. Measures have already been adopted which indicate and emphasise this fact. These measures have been publicly proclaimed by their chief naval authorities as their one chance of success against England—namely, to catch us unprepared.

More important even than the building programme, neglected for five years by refusal to

face facts, is the necessity for placing the fleets we have on a war footing. It is not right that the Admiral in command of the Mediterranean Fleet should be obliged to use battleships as cruisers. This has been done within the past year. To deprive the Mediterranean Fleet of necessary cruisers, destroyers, and auxiliaries is a blow at the heart of the Empire, struck by those responsible for its protection.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XVIII

The following is a statement of facts which I have obtained from a naval officer of great experience. It is borne out also from another source, and reflects little credit on successive Boards of Admiralty for many years:—

"In my opinion, other things being anything like equal, money spent by Commanders and First Lieutenants *does* go a long way in forwarding the advancement of those fortunate enough to possess it.

"Little, or perhaps none, of the expense incurred on paint materials, gold-leaf, ornamentations, etc., adds to the efficiency of a ship as a fighting machine, though of course greatly improves the appearance of a ship.

"Then, again, men's time is often wasted by the

undue attention devoted to appearance when it might be employed for *real* useful purposes. Often during evolutions and ordinary ship-work things might be carried out much more smartly if such a lot of attention was not used in looking out for paint-work and finery. For example, fire-engines and carriages used for landing are perhaps enamelled and decorated. Instead of hoisting these out from the ship into a boat in a hurry and making an evolution of it, men are afraid of damaging the enamel and decorations by knocking them against the ship's side.

"The report after an Admiral's inspection is always on the mind of a Commander and First Lieutenant, as they know upon this report may perhaps depend their whole future career. The appearance of a ship is taken a great deal into consideration in these reports.

"I have been quite recently told by a Commander that Commanders of sea-going battleships spend about £100 a year on their ships, and that on commissioning a new ship, more than that for the first year. My Commander spent about £200 a year.

"The First Lieutenant has also to spend a good deal on the lower deck and flats, but not so much as a Commander, and no doubt often gains promotion by doing so. The Gunnery Lieutenant is another person who really has to spend money on cleaning gear (emery paper, etc.) for his guns, shot hoists, etc. I myself used to spend 5s. a month

on the after barbette because the allowance of emery paper, etc., was insufficient to keep the guns as clean as others I had seen.

"In my opinion, the establishment of paint allowed a ship is nearly enough—not quite—for this reason. A ship's painting surface is measured and a certain amount of paint allowed to paint that surface all over once every four months by an experienced painter. But as a bluejacket is not an *experienced* painter a little extra should be allowed for waste. Regulations provide for further supply of paint on special occasions.

"If the Admiralty do not require any part of a ship enamelled, or gilt put here and there, why should officers who can afford it be allowed to do so? The Admiralty could surely issue an order that a ship should remain as officially fitted and painted, superseding a commanding officer that disobeys it.

"Cleaning materials allowed a ship are really quite enough for cleaning and keeping clean parts of a ship that are bright on commissioning. I am now referring to brass and steel work. But Commanders, First and Gunnery Lieutenants, always scrape and brighten parts which need not be, and sometimes which are not supposed to be. For example, you often see the muzzles of guns scraped and burnished, when, as a matter of fact, there is an order against this practice.

"Officers do not spend money on a ship without an object, and the object is, no doubt, to make

their superior officers think better of them by having a smart and clean-looking ship. If Admirals and Captains do think more of an executive officer for this, which I believe they do, then the outlay must favour officers with private means. It must also prevent poor men from taking up a promising appointment where they would have to compete with well-to-do men, such as a Commander on the Mediterranean station."

# CHAPTER XIX

## EDUCATION

### I

IF the object of national education is not only to enable the nation to hold its place but to correct the temper, cultivate the taste, and reform habits which prevent Britannia from maintaining her station as a World Power, then the neglect of our rulers in this Department is no less lamentable than their administrative shortcomings. The reason is plain. The majority of our rulers are themselves half-educated. Their "culture," of which they are so proud, is futile. Foresight would be more useful to the State. No nation can engage in the international struggle for life with any prospects of success when governed by men who ignore the first principles of business.

In the course of the last century Britain has discovered the rivalry of many neighbours. It is no longer sufficient to rely on the sublime

instincts of an ancient race. It is necessary to correct our national faults; to look ahead and prepare for all emergencies that can be foreseen. The principal faults of our race are overweening confidence, insensibility to the feelings and wishes of others, and a certain brutal insularity of sentiment that renders us as a people an object of almost universal dislike among the quicker-witted people of Celtic and Latin blood. The "culture" of the "Souls" does not concern itself with these things. The English are wont to deride Scottish insensibility to humour. Their own callousness to fine shades of difference is constantly the subject of American comment. Thickness of hide is an advantage only to animals and nations which dominate by force. Sympathetic handling of international or domestic affairs is not inculcated in the education of the governing classes, and the diplomatic mistakes and failures of Britain are too often the result of an education that refines one phase of intellect without developing scientific imagination or touching the heart.

During a recent session of Parliament the English world has been startled by the exhibition of temper displayed by Mr. Balfour in dealing with the question of the sufferings of the sick and wounded in South Africa, brought before the

House and the public by Mr. Burdett Coutts. Mr. Balfour is a specimen of the finest product of modern university training. He is a philosopher by taste, a politician by birth, and he represents the latest expression of modern English culture. Yet temper, petulance, and effeminacy were exhibited by Mr. Balfour, not only over the hospitals question, but in the dark days of 1899, when he shocked the serious and working portion of the nation by an exhibition of that indifference and levity which is the note of modern culture. No "cultured" person is supposed to feel deeply upon any subject. Enthusiasm is bad form; between earnestness and fanaticism there is no dividing line. This is the modern creed. Mr. Balfour, the individual, is less to blame than the system of education of which he is the result. Wealthy young men, who have been tended and valeted from their youth up, waited on by servants, driven by coachmen, and fed on dainties, sleeping on soft beds under watertight roofs all their days, learning the world mainly through books, which are but the reflection of other men's ideas, can never become real men, or the efficient rulers of real men, because solitude, hardship, suffering and sorrow, communion with nature, self-dependence, and contact with the realities of life are necessary to the formation of strong

character among leaders of men in critical times. Mr. Kruger can barely write his name, but there is a sense in which he can claim more of the higher education than Mr. Balfour. Englishmen to their hurt, mainly owing to the trades unionism of the two universities, dislike and despise all education that does not conform to the schools.

No one can deny the charm and grace of the finished product of our universities. The dead languages and the higher mathematics as gymnastics of the mind are to the modern statesman what masts and sails are to the modern naval officer. No one denies that in the past and under the old conditions that have vanished for ever, Latin, Greek, and the pure mathematics have produced men able to cope with the difficulties that formerly confronted the nation. Since October last, however, we have discovered that Dutch rural simplicity is also compatible with great qualities; that the qualities of foresight, determination, and flexibility of adaptation are lacking in our rulers; and, further, that the qualities that have enabled the British to beat the Boers have not been displayed by our statesmen, but were supplied by the privates, the company officers, and, in some instances, by those generals who have learned their trade in the bitter school of life—not at the Staff College. The failure of modern

education to give us an efficient governing class has been revealed in the failures of the Boer War.

Worse remains behind. The same confident self-esteem, reliance on the magic of a shibboleth, and the belief that money and the common people will extricate us from all difficulties are beliefs that still find their stronghold in the minds of our rulers. We are in a fool's paradise about the Navy, about our financial system, and about our education. It is inevitable destiny that unless the nation reads the handwriting on the wall, and transfers the control and direction of its affairs to serious men of business knowledge and capacity, the humiliations and failures of the Boer War will be repeated on a scale immeasurably greater. The touchstone by which national appreciation of the failure of our educational standard will be tested will be when the Government declares its intentions as to profiting by the lessons of the Boer War. All the present signs point to an intention of forgetting what has passed, going on as we are, and of refusing to profit by the few hours of grace that remain.

## II. THE MIDDLE CLASSES

Turning to the middle classes and comparing their lives and the result of their lives with the

middle classes of Germany or the United States, where education exists in a higher form, and is imbibed in a larger spirit than in England, there is one startling difference to be seen. The individualism of the British enamours them with the process of muddling along in business as in statesmanship, prevents combination for national ends, and leads them to acquiesce in the rule of incompetent administrators who will before long plunge them in irretrievable disaster. In Germany the result of education has been to give to the efforts of the nation the solidification of a single organism. Stein, who conceived the German educational system, was also the parent of its military organisation. The consequences of the English educational system are to be detected more clearly in the British Army than elsewhere. Even the Prime Minister is ignorant of the first principles of national defence, if his public speeches are the measure of his knowledge.

Germany is beating England out of the field, because German education enables the German people to study things at their roots, to see things as they are, and to adapt their national methods to their national needs. German commerce already provides for the sustenance of 20,000,000 German people no longer dependent on the soil, because German education has enabled all classes of the Kaiser's subjects

to work together for a common end. In other words, the competition of Germany with England is the competition of an effective organism with a heterogeneous multitude of half-educated individuals. The capacity and racial instincts of the English people are probably superior in quality to those of the Germans. English colonising capacity, courage, equanimity in defeat, and terrible power when roused, all point to the essential soundness of the middle classes, if only their energies were directed and their capacities trained in accordance with the modern needs of the Empire. Britain waits for a Stein. The lads who are turned out of our great public schools learn, for the most part, to be gentlemen; that is to say, to avoid self-assertion, to consider others, to suffer pain in silence, and die like men when occasion requires; to tell the truth, and to excel in some form of manly sport. But they do not learn foreign languages, and science is generally known as "stinks" or "rot" in the public schools, although science and the interchange of thought with other nations are the head and the shaft of the spear that will alone enable Great Britain and her Empire to defend her place as a World Power. The education of our naval officers is defective, and within a few years our Navy may be tried as highly as the Army. The education of the lower

middle classes, especially of the girls, is capable of great improvement, but the spirit of unrest is in the air, and a change for the better cannot be long in coming.

## III. CONSECUTIVE THOUGHT

The classes engaged in manual labour are educationally a long way behind the workmen and labourers of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and the United States. Even in France and Austria and parts of Italy the work of the handicraftsmen compares only too favourably with the work of the British artisan. The agricultural labourer in Britain is ceasing to exist. The Education Act of 1870, which was the conception of townsmen's brains, has raised ideals and formed ideas which have struck a blow at the heart of native agriculture. The existing form of land tenure, the jealousy and ambition of the lawyers, which prevent the simplification of land transfer, have turned the peasantry off the soil. The educational system given them too late has brought into existence a crop of scrappy literature which has generated impatience with the habit of consecutive thought. The energy of people who cannot think consecutively is wasted. There is,

however, more hopefulness in the educational survey for the democracy than for their rulers. During the present Parliament much has been done by tireless and almost unknown workers to improve the educational system. Few people know the priceless service rendered to the Empire by the teaching staff of the Board schools, worthily represented in the House of Commons by Mr. Yoxall, M.P., whose Memorandum on the present position of Primary Education in England and Wales is appended to this chapter. They are the salt of the earth. They get little praise, and none of the prizes of public life. In thirty years' time we shall begin to reap what has been sown, if the Empire lasts so long. That our educational system should be entrusted to a man of pleasure, who is also responsible for Imperial defence, and to a cynic whose disappointed ambitions have soured him, is a telling comment on the manner in which the formation of national character is considered by our rulers. The Duke of Devonshire is endowed with many great qualities, and has had in the past a high sense of public duty, but his most enthusiastic admirers could scarcely claim for him fitness for the task of forming a nation's character. Sir John Gorst is the only member of the Fourth Party who has not done well for himself, and the contempt of our rulers for education

is effectively shown by the way in which they have flung to Sir John Gorst the Vice-Presidency of the Council. In the time that is coming I hope to see the Head of the Education Department as highly paid as the Lord Chancellor, as an expression of national recognition of the thing that makes a nation. The history of the German nation is the history of Education. Few people are sufficiently enamoured with Germany to wish to copy slavishly even her successful institutions, but no impartial student can fail to appreciate the close relationship between the military and commercial prosperity of Germany and the philosophic basis of her educational system. The Army tailors have given to English staff officers the same uniform cap as that adopted by the Germans. The decoration of the outside of their heads with Teutonic trappings is a good educational beginning, but it is to be hoped that our military authorities will not permit the staff cap to be the only item adopted from the German military school.

Nominally a democratic country, British education is not democratic. In other countries, and especially in the United States, the democratic idea in education has taken root. In the system of schools established in the great Republic, the rich man's son and the poor man's son are trained side by side. In England, the Board schools are

shunned by all parents who can afford to send their brats elsewhere, and the consequence is a social chasm between employers and employed, which bodes ill for the future.

It is a remarkable feature in the educational history of Europe that national suffering or calamity has been the prime motive force for the reorganisation of the educational system. The sufferings of Germany at the hands of Napoleon led to the reconstruction of her education, and it was the German schoolmaster, through the hand of Moltke, that overthrew France in 1870. When defeated by Germany, France reorganised her schools, and although centralisation is pushed to an extreme, a great change for the better has taken place in the training of youth. The American Civil War led to great searchings of heart on educational subjects, and the immense weight, wealth, and social position of educationists in the United States are partly attributable to the heart-searchings of the nation at the close of the Civil War. Russia and England are the only great nations in Europe destitute of a national system of education.

A sound educational system involves elementary, secondary, university, and technical training. Early specialisation implies a low standard of knowledge, as the more complete the special preparations for

the occupations of life the later does technical education begin. Our elementary system of primary education is not responsible for our industrial and commercial defeats of recent years. It is the absence of secondary and technical education that has contributed to the obsolescence of British machinery throughout the kingdom. The inefficiency of our secondary schools has been disclosed by our commercial backwardness, and by the want of faculty displayed by British officials, both military and civil. The public schools are palpable and miserable failures. The education of a boy who has passed through Winchester, for example, can only be said to begin after he has left the College. Parliament has betrayed the nation in the matter of education. The mere fact that the Charity Commissioners, whose indolence and incompetence are proverbial, are the body entrusted with the administration of the Endowed Schools Act is a proof of the incapacity and want of patriotism of the British Parliament.

The real fact is, that the British nation is not yet awake to the necessity of education, and the consequence is that educational questions are left largely in the hands of theorists, of interested persons, and of ambitious people whose interests are not identical with the interests of the nation. With the Duke of Devonshire and Sir George

Kekewich mainly responsible for education, the British nation and the British Empire are at a disadvantage. The Board of Education should be abolished and remanned with a new crew, because the wars of the future will be won or lost according to the capacities of the chief educational authority of the Empire.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XIX.

BY J. H. YOXALL, M.P.

### MEMORANDUM ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

I. *Curriculum.*—This is only just now being placed upon a reasonably satisfactory footing. Twelve years ago proposals of reform were brought forward, including the following items :—

1. Abandonment of the examination of each scholar in each subject upon one fixed day during the year, as a mode of testing the work of a State-aided school.

2. Substitution, in place of that of casual and unexpected visits to the schools, by Inspectors, who would watch the work amidst its ordinary daily conditions, feel the pulse of the school, ascertain its tone, and test the work here and there by questioning a class, or individually the elder scholars.

3. Abandonment of rigid classification of

scholars according to age and standard of examination last passed.

4. Substitution, for that of a natural and educational classification, by the teachers who knew the children, irrespective of age or what was often the accidental passing or non-passing of the set examination previously instituted; together with the recognition of the almost obvious fact that a child may well be in one class for arithmetic and in a higher class for English, and *vice versâ*.

5. Abandonment of assessment of grant to a school according to the percentage of examination passes, and of the separate grants, which varied according to the number of subjects taken in a school, given upon the quantity rather than the quality and thoroughness of the work undertaken to be done.

6. Substitution for that of a Block Grant, payable to a school which reached the minimum of efficiency, and not variable, or hardly variable at all, by increase to a school which overtops that minimum. Because the circumstances of schools in slums and suburbs, remote villages or semi-urban rural districts, vary so much, their finances, their equipment, the distance travelled by the children, the parentage of the children, the sanitation of the locality, etc., that what was barely efficient work in a well-circumstanced school would be highly praiseworthy, and worthy of greater remuneration, if any variation at all were to be

made, in a school less favourably circumstanced. Variation, however, is obviously difficult to rightly value.

7. The consequent detachment of teaching and learning from sordid incitements to earn cumulative grants, rather than to teach and study thoroughly and suitably.

The last item in this series of reforms was obtained this year only, and only from now onwards can the proper effect of the rational scheme of curricula, classification, and inspection be expected to begin to appear. Since 1862, when Robert Lowe instituted the cast-iron and Procrustean system known as "payment by results," which really meant payment according to mechanical results, produced in a brain-labour-saving way and tested as unintelligently, the associated Elementary School Teachers have been the one and only set of people in the country who have agitated for and worked for these reforms. They have not come at the instigation of Universities, or a Government Department, or from the National School Society, the British and Foreign School Society, the Wesleyan Education Committee, or even the great School Boards. Most of these and the Press were hostile to the change ten years ago, and some newspapers remained hostile up to the triumph of the last instalment, viz., the Block Grant.

Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, even, were most of them opposed to the change, and one of

the tasks which the National Union of Teachers had to accomplish before these reforms could be brought about was to curb and bring within reasonable limits the power of these Inspectors. As I said from the Chair of the Union in 1892, "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools was the most autocratic and least responsible official west of Russia."

That the teachers' representations and desires, now universally acknowledged to have been wise and laudable, were able to triumph at all was due to the fact that the Permanent Secretary of the Education Department, Sir George Kekewich, is the least red-tapey of officials and one of the most common-sensical of men. He had in Sir W. Hart-Dyke in 1886–92, and in Mr. A. H. Acland in 1892–95, Vice-Presidents of the Department who were in sympathy with schools and administrative reform, and he was able, therefore, to accept one by one the proposals above sketched, and he, it is only fair to say, was warmly backed by the Rev. T. W. Sharpe, the then Senior Chief Inspector. Happily, these reforms have been brought about without dislocation and friction, and from now on we may anticipate something like a proper result for the money and the labour expended on the schools. During the last three or four years Her Majesty's Inspectors have begun to acknowledge in their annual reports to the Department the good effects intellectually of such changes as are already in operation. The school work, they

report, is less mechanically accurate, perhaps, but vastly more intelligent and formative of character. Of course there are a few of them who do not accept that view.

II. *A number of remaining difficulties in the schools themselves.*— About one million children who ought to be on the books of Public Elementary Schools are entirely absent from them, and of those whose names are upon the books 18 per cent. are absent from school daily; children who are present at school are in the great majority of cases taught in classes 50, 60, 70, and 80 strong, and in some cases even under great School Boards the numbers in the classes run up to 100 and over. Obviously these classes are too large for properly effective teaching of children whose parents are uneducated or demi-semi-educated, and who come to school without a vocabulary and receive little incitement or assistance towards education at home in far too many cases. That is not the whole of the mischief. These large classes are in a majority of cases taught by untrained and uncertificated teachers, and even by pupil teachers (who are children set to teach children), and by a class of persons known as "women over eighteen" who are willing to teach in a school for a pittance, and who to do so need possess no diploma, certificate, training, or adequate degree of education. There are 16,000 of these women employed.

It is also a fact that a large proportion of schoolrooms, classrooms, and playgrounds are unsatisfactory, and that maps, books, diagrams, pictures, musical instruments for accompanying drill and singing, desks, and stationery are sadly to lack.

It will be seen, therefore, that although curricula and inspection have been reformed, the non-attendance, the irregular attendance, the large classes, unqualified teachers, and bad premises and imperfect equipments, are all obstacles to anything like complete efficiency.

III. *Organisation.*—The faulty premises, bare equipments, large classes, unqualified teachers, are due mainly to what is known as the "dual system." That is to say, the extension of State Aid alike to Board Schools and privately managed Denominational Schools. The friends of the Board Schools system oppose the enlargement of State Grants to Voluntary Schools. The friends of Voluntary Schools oppose at School Board Elections and upon the School Boards themselves in every possible way the additional expenditure of rates upon Board Schools, because the more efficient the local Board Schools the less efficient relatively the local Voluntary Schools. Assisting these two checks is the check of the ratepayer, who, whether he be Board School man or Voluntary School man, objects almost equally to an increase of the School Board rate. The dual system and its administration at the centre are

very fruitful of evil. The School Board cannot set up a Board School if the Board of Education recognises even the most defective Voluntary School in the locality as providing a sufficient number of places for the children there resident. Only very slowly are the defective Voluntary Schools weeded out. The number of School Boards grows a little year by year, but mainly by the setting up of new microscopically small School Boards. The parochial area instituted in the Education Act of 1870 is the parent of the mischief. I could never understand why Mr. Forster did not adopt the Poor Law area at that date, but at anyrate now there are the County Council area and the District Council area available. Hitherto, however, all efforts to get a larger minimum area than the parish for a School Board have failed, and the result is several hundreds of School Boards ridiculously small, with all the cost of machinery, of triennial election, meetings of the School Board of five members, remuneration of the clerk, expenses of office, correspondence, etc., for a School Board governing one small school. The political aspect of all this is baneful to education. Under Mr. Acland, the outcry was that the Education Department hampered and worried Voluntary Schools. Under Sir John Gorst, the outcry is that Board Schools and School Boards do not obtain fair play, and Voluntary Schools are allowed to be dogs in the manger. Mr. Acland caused great excitement in Parliament

and elsewhere because he insisted that every Voluntary School should have a porch to serve as a cloakroom. Her Majesty's Inspectors are loath to impose upon Managers of Voluntary Schools the necessary structural changes or better equipments, because it is quite likely that under the present administration their demands may be overruled upon an application to the Board of Education of a Bishop or a "churchy" M.P.

IV. *Influence of this upon the teacher.*—It follows that teachers both in Board Schools and Voluntary Schools are limited very often in their request for additional staff, additional maps, stationery, etc., which they consider necessary to the efficiency of their schools. The School Board wants to keep the rate down, the Voluntary School Managers cannot obtain subscriptions to eke out the grant. In thousands of cases, therefore, the zeal and energy of the teachers are deadened, and a make-shift, hand-to-mouth scholastic existence goes on. Moreover, it is almost the rule in Voluntary Schools to require the teacher to render services as organist, choirmaster, Sunday-school teacher, secretary of parish clubs, and in rural districts lay parish factotum, into the bargain for his work in school. The Church school teacher is in the hollow of the hand of the clergyman to a large extent. The clergyman may dismiss him without right of appeal, although his work in school is efficient and his life without reproach, if he is

not properly subservient, or energetic in parish matters, or if the clergyman's wife and the schoolmaster's wife don't hit it off. Similar insecurity of tenure applies to teachers employed by small School Boards. One of the reforms on the point of accomplishment is some method of appeal by teachers against wrongful dismissal.

V. *Higher Elementary Schools.*—Higher Primary Schools were instituted in Germany eighty years ago, and in France fifty-five years ago. The first Primary School in England dates back no further than 1876. There are now some 80 Higher Grade Board Schools which have come into existence almost surreptitiously, from a legal point of view. They are said to have no legal sanction under the Education Acts. Nevertheless, they were built, staffed, equipped, and maintained with the consent of the Education Department and the Science and Art Department until three or four years ago, and received grants from these Departments as institutions worthy of support. Four years ago, however, upon the private representations (it is believed) of the masters and governors of a good many semi-efficient local Grammar Schools, made to the effect that these Higher Grade Board Schools were drawing into themselves the children of the middle classes who would otherwise have gone to the Grammar Schools, a policy of pin-pricks was adopted, by the Science and Art Department in particular, the conditions of grants

were made more onerous (not the curriculum), and step by step it has been difficult to keep existing Higher Grade Schools going, and impossible to open new ones. The last instance of the kind is not more than two months old, where the Directory of the Science and Art Department appeared with a new condition, viz., that Science and Art grants could not be paid to School Boards unless the School Board received fees for the classes, or a subsidy from a Technical Education rate. In May, however, Parliament adopted what is called a Higher Elementary School Minute, which was supposed to remove the grounds of this friction and legally establish in this country the principle of Higher Primary State-aided Schools. This Minute has, however, been so administered by the Board of Education as to almost nullify it so far, and School Boards such as those for London, Bradford, Burnley, and Nottingham are in arms against what is being done. There is a good deal of talk about "overlapping," and of delimitation and drawing a line between primary and secondary education. The secondary education of one age is the primary of the next. The proper continuation of an Elementary School education is not the Grammar School education at all. So long as we are too snobbish to have all children educated up to ten years of age in a Public Elementary School there must be overlapping—that is to say, some of the instruction in the two classes of schools must coincide (to use the mathematical expression).

To say that no Public Elementary School should teach anything recognised as being proper to teach in Grammar Schools is absurd, and to propose to remedy the mischief arising therefrom by distribution of scholarships in Grammar Schools is inadequate and impracticable. We do not want 90 per cent. of the children who go to Public Elementary Schools to pass *viâ* Grammar School to a University; the passage ought to be *viâ* a Higher Elementary School to an institution of technological or commercial higher instruction. All this hampering and hindering of School Boards, therefore, in the provision of Higher Primary instruction, is harmful to the commercial and industrial interests of the country in the most extraordinary degree.

# CHAPTER XX

## CONCLUSION

As I write the last lines of this book the Queen's reign ends. The Victorian era of comfort and progress already belongs to the irrevocable past. Herself the most efficient of the servants of the nation, the Queen's legacy to small and great is the priceless example of Efficiency she leaves to her people. Efficiency is the basis, and possibly the reason, of all moral law: the Queen's great reign was efficient because obedient to the moral law. If we were all like the Queen, the British Empire would be safe.

Unfortunately, facts dispel tranquillity. Portions of the nation are decadent. To the class of the decadents our rulers belong. In foresight they are as deficient as in purpose. But for the obstinacy of Krugerism, England might have been engaged in a struggle against a Continental alliance. Our institutions would have been found

wanting. We should have listened to Lord Lansdowne unconsciously disclosing his own inefficiency to the House of Lords and revealing the fact of his being "struck" with our deficiencies in troops, horses, guns, stores, and ships. In that case we should have had our Colenso, our Stormberg, and Magersfontein on a larger scale. We may even have them yet, for our rulers are not in earnest. The middle class is becoming, to a large extent, a class of pleasure-seekers, aping their social superiors in food, dress, habits, and occupation. The working classes artificially restrict their output of labour, while the waste-making tyranny of drink exercises a despotism over many of the poor and too many of the rich. Our mandarin system resembles too closely that of the Chinese, whom we profess to despise, to enable us to say with certainty that we shall be in time to avert the knife of the butcher, even if we began to amend our ways to-night. Measures of preparation are costly and, therefore, unpopular. The fibre of the ruled and the rulers alike has been softened. We have surrendered to talkers and triflers the positions that should be occupied by men of strength and determination. We suffer lies in Parliament. Upon the liars peerages are conferred. Idlers in the public offices are presented with pensions in their idleness.

Inequitable taxation exempts millions while pressing heavily on the middle class, which is the bone and sinew of the nation. Incapable administration is the rule, and condonation of administrative failure invariable. The interference of the fair sex in affairs of State is unchecked by the half disasters and whole humiliations of the African War. Bad guns and munitions are hastily bought in Germany, though but a few years ago we reduced our artillery, and during the Crimean War produced the whole of the munitions that were required. Diplomacy is packed with fine gentlemen who despise trade and traders, who are the backbone of the Empire. The House of Commons is negligent of the public purse, while too many of its members are agape for social distinctions or for undeserved honours to execute the primary purpose of a free Legislature. Our education system is many years behind that of our rivals. The national physique is enfeebled owing to bad housing, new spirits, sophisticated beer, and the depopulation of our fields. Free trade in contagious disease corrodes the lives and careers of our young men and their future descendants. Ninety thousand weaklings in the Regular Army are unfit for foreign service. Worst and most disgraceful fact of all, our two main Fleets are unready for war, while our Admiralty is

engaged in giving particular directions as to how the men are to wear their medals, and in laying down the law that when officers are wearing white trousers and shoes they are on no account to wear white socks. Nero fiddled when Rome burnt. Our rulers feast and idle while England rots. We cannot continue in existence for twenty years if we pursue the course we now follow.

What is to arrest our Gadarene rush down the steeps of inefficiency to the sea of national destruction? Two great changes are needed, but they require neither legislation nor taxation. Restore responsibility, and enforce it on high and low; and, secondly, open a career to talent. These are hard sayings, but worthy of all acceptation, for nothing else can save us. When a career is opened to talent, the effete and futile House of Commons, that interferes without knowledge and enforces taxation while neglecting control, will be replaced by a worthier miniature of the nation. The privileges of the Guards, a plutocratic Cavalry, the social distinctions between first-class and second-class clerks, the promotion of rich naval officers, not because they are efficient, but because they can afford to buy gold-leaf and polish the anchor bitts, will be done away with. When responsibility is defined and enforced in the case

of each member of the public service, no more will munitions be shipped at Trieste as hams, transhipped at Gibraltar as shell, and the whole transaction cynically denied in Parliament by officials who rank as "honourable Members." No more will German guns be bought by Portuguese intermediaries. England will make her own guns, and use them when they are needed. No more will the secret Foreign Office code be saleable by unpaid alien vice-consuls to the highest bidder. England's Diplomatic Service will be manned by English gentlemen, who will get the promotion they deserve, and who will be paid a proper salary for the hard work they will perform for the country. No more Nelson relics will be stolen. No more will senile incompetence mismanage the Ordnance or the Navy. When war breaks out, our fleets will be ready to fight, and our army will be ready to take the offensive. Patriotism will be taught in our schools, and the gospel of Efficiency will be our national cry; for we know that the land we love is perishing, and that its decay is not due to the irresistible decree of Providence, against which mortals may fight in vain, but that the fall of England is due to the misrule and self-esteem of men who love themselves more than they love their country.

To sum up.

1. Restore knowledge to her rightful place in Administration, and let the nation know the experts' estimates of requirements.

2. Define each man's responsibility, from Minister to messenger, and hold him accountable.

3. Exact the highest standard of efficiency from all.

4. Punish the unworthy without delay.

5. Dismiss quickly the unfit and the unsuccessful.

6. Reward promptly the men who render *extraordinary* service to the State. Duty is due to the State; and no man should be rewarded for doing it.

7. Inspect all Departments at uncertain times and by surprise visits.

8. In bestowing honours let the nature of the service be stated when the honour is conferred.

9. Honour the schoolmaster, and bring education up to date.

10. Cease to raise drink-sellers to the peerage.

11. Sterilise the unfit.

12. Keep an eye on sacerdotalists', lawyers', and stockbrokers' influence on Government.

13. Appoint no more Commissions of Inquiry unless their recommendations are acted on.

14. Forbid M.P.s to bribe their constituencies by "charities" or subsidies.

15. Choose Ministers for personal fitness.

16. Despise rhetoricians.

17. Suppress tolerance for that form of "humanitarianism" which consists of reviling this country and belauding the enemy.

Thus and thus only will the Empire be re-engined. There is no time to lose; but the change desired will only come about when each of us is strenuous and efficient in his own sphere. If we bestir ourselves now, even at the eleventh hour, we may say, in Milton's words—

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam."

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